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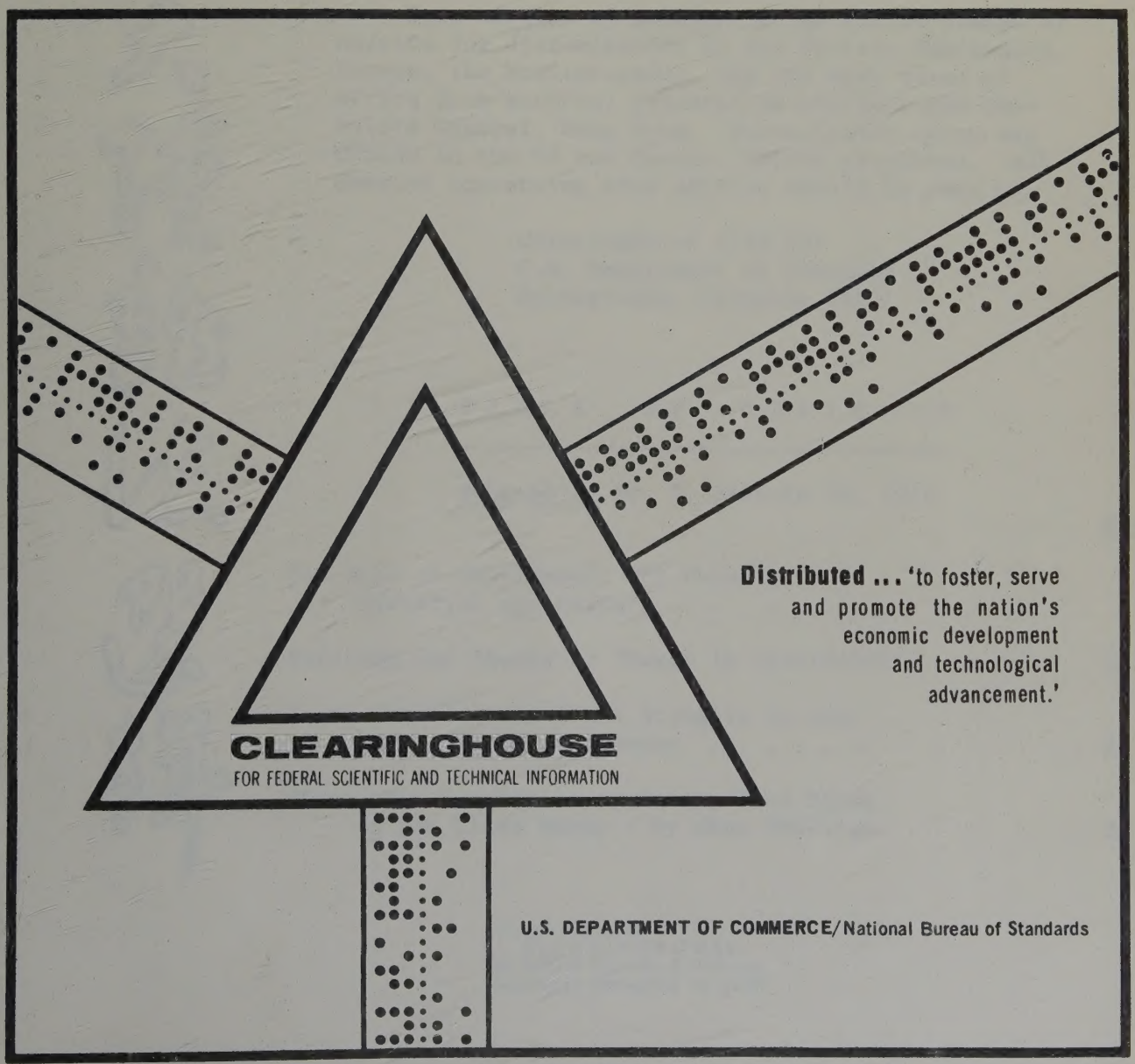
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Hung-ch'i, No. 2, January 30, 1970

Page

The Road of Development for China's Socialist Agriculture 1

Refuting the Theory of "Waste Is Justified" 15

Carry Out Well the Class Struggle in the Sphere of Rural Economy 21

Strengthen Revolutionary Unity, Deal Blows to the Class Enemy - by Shen Yeh-liao 26

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Page

Prepare the Hills for Afforestation in the Interest of Revolution 30

Full of Warmth and "In a Thousand and One Ways" 36

Who Remolds Whom?--Comment on Kairov's "Pedagogics" 49

Class Struggle in the Field of Socialist Construction and Economics - Criticizing the Revisionist Economic Theory of Sun Yeh-fang 65

Revolutionary War Is Excellent - Criticizing the Reactionary Film "Visiting a Kinsman" 81

Short Commentaries Are Powerful - Report on an investigation in Liuli Brigade, Tungt'ai hsien, Kiangsu 92

APPENDIX: Five Short Commentaries 99

Five Revolutionary Historical Songs 105

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Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in Chinese Periodicals.

The Road of Development for China's Socialist Agriculture

by

the Writing Group of the Honan Provincial
Revolutionary Committee

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, January 30, 1970)

A new upsurge in socialist revolution and construction is rising in China's countryside, following the deepening of struggle-criticism-transformation. The key link in this upsurge is the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. This is an inevitable outcome of the unprecedented popularization of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and Mao Tsetung thought during the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has paid very great attention to the role of the peasants in revolution and construction. He points out: "We have a rural population of over five hundred million, so the situation of our peasants has a most important bearing on the development of our economy and the consolidation of our state power."

Chairman Mao's "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation," his important preface and introductory notes to "The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside" and his other brilliant works have with genius and creativity developed the great Marxist-Leninist theory on the socialist transformation of agriculture, and incisively and thoroughly solved the line, principles and policies for guiding the peasants along the socialist road. They have smashed the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line aimed at sabotaging the socialist transformation of agriculture and restoring capitalism. Chairman Mao's great thinking has not only led the Chinese peasants onto the path of collectivization, bringing earth-shaking changes to the vast countryside, but will always serve as the sharpest weapon for us to overcome capitalism, revisionism and all manner of wrong trends, and as a beacon always guiding us forward. Today, to study conscientiously Chairman Mao's great works once again and to look back over the historical experience of the rural class struggle is of great practical significance to our wiping out the vestiges of the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, to carrying out successfully the struggle-criticism-transformation in the countryside and to developing further socialist agricultural production with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

The Socialist Road Is the Only Road for China's Agriculture

Chairman Mao pointed out at the Second Plenum of the 7th Central Committee of the Party: "After the countryside victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem," the basic contradiction internally was "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie."

After the land reform, what mainly existed in the rural areas was a vast individual peasant economy and a rich peasant capitalist economy. The rich peasants were the bourgeoisie of the countryside who insisted on taking the capitalist road. The individual peasants' initiative in production was expressed in two ways: initiative in mutual-aid and cooperation and that in developing the individual economy. In order to get rid of poverty, improve their living standards and combat natural disasters, the broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants were resolute in taking the socialist road, while the small number of well-to-do or comparatively well-to-do peasants were bent on taking the capitalist road. A struggle between the two roads--the socialist and capitalist--was therefore inevitable in the countryside, and it became more and more obvious and sharper with the development of the rural economy.

As long ago as in the period of the democratic revolution, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out to the peasants that to "get organized" and to take the road of cooperation was the only way for them to become completely emancipated and achieve common prosperity. After the land reform, Chairman Mao closely followed the struggle between the two roads in the countryside and repeatedly emphasized to the whole Party the great necessity and urgency of guiding the peasants along the road of mutual-aid and cooperation, of gradually establishing socialist relations of production in agriculture and of restricting and eliminating capitalist exploitation in the countryside.

Chairman Mao points out: "If socialism does not occupy the rural front, capitalism assuredly will." "Speaking of agriculture, the socialist road is the only road for agriculture in our country. Development of the mutual-aid and cooperative movement and constant development of the agricultural productive forces is the center of the Party's work in the countryside."

Individual economy is not the peasants' "paradise" but the breeding ground of capitalism. The illusion that the peasants can depend on "working on their own" to lead a secure "good life" on their distributed land is basically impossible to realize. In fact, after the land reform, class polarization immediately took place in the countryside: the spontaneous forces of capitalism grew daily, new rich peasants emerged and some well-to-do middle peasants strove hard to become rich peasants; at the same time, although the living standards of the poor and lower-middle peasants in general had improved or greatly improved, many of them were in serious economic difficulties or were not well-off, and some had even lost the land they had recently acquired. If capitalism were allowed to spread unchecked in the countryside, the fruits of victory won by the peasants in the land reform would be snatched from them. There was also the danger that the worker-peasant alliance would be undermined and this would present extreme difficulties to the country's socialist industrial construction.

Diametrically opposed to the revisionist line of resisting agricultural cooperation pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and company, Chairman Mao emphatically pointed out: "Socialist industrialization cannot be carried out in isolation from agricultural cooperation," and "the development of agricultural cooperation should be in step with our socialist industrialization."

Socialist industrial construction depended on agriculture for large and increasing supplies of commercial grain and raw materials and for a large accumulation of funds, and such requirements could never be met by an individual small peasant economy. The peasants were the main purchasers of goods of socialist industry. It was only by shifting agriculture onto the basis of cooperative large-scale management that the peasants' purchasing power could be raised, making them able to absorb the greatest amount possible of heavy and light industrial products. All this showed that there existed sharp contradictions between the individual small peasant economy and socialist industrialization. If these contradictions were not solved, our socialist industrialization would inevitably be hampered and it would be impossible for us to complete it.

The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i who had concealed himself within the Party and his company made every effort to resist Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and after land reform they frenziedly advertized "the preservation of private ownership" and "four major forms of freedom." These slogans entirely represented the interest of the bourgeoisie and the rich peasants and constituted the program for the development of capitalism in the countryside. The so-called "preservation of private ownership" meant "preserving" "private ownership" by the bourgeoisie and the rich peasants, developing the rich-peasant economy in the countryside and taking the capitalist road. The so-called "four major forms of freedom" sought to give the rich peasants unrestricted "freedom" for carrying out exploitation, thus causing the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants to lose their land and sell their labor power once again. They wanted to use such chains to tie down the poor and lower-middle peasants so that the rich peasants, usurers and profiteering merchants might exploit them at will.

Liu Shao-ch'i nourished a deadly hatred toward the mutual aid and cooperation movement started under the guidance of Chairman Mao. He instructed his sinister lieutenant Po I-po to advertize openly the reactionary viewpoint of taking the capitalist road in an article. This sinister article which was revised and given the final form by Liu Shao-ch'i was published on June 29, 1951, in the newspaper. It frenziedly cried that agricultural collectivization was an "erroneous" "utopian thinking of agricultural socialism." It advocated that the "existence and development" of rich peasants must be "permitted" and that "individual peasants 'working on their own' should not be opposed," thus laying bare the desire to lead the countryside to take the capitalist road for the purpose of exploiting hundreds of millions of the peasants.

Following this, Liu Shao-ch'i wrote in July 1951 an "introductory note" to a report smearing the urgent hope and demand of the poor and lower-middle peasants to set up agricultural producer cooperative as "wrong, dangerous and utopian thinking of agricultural socialism," in an attempt to strangle at one stroke agricultural cooperation.

Chairman Mao refuted this fallacy in great indignation and smashed this sinister "introductory note" of Liu Shao-ch'i's. He showed concern for and gave his enthusiastic support to the movement for agricultural mutual aid and cooperation. He also instructed the whole Party to treat this movement as work of great significance. He personally presided over the drawing up of the Party Central Committee's important decision on agricultural producers' mutual aid and cooperation.

Under the guiding light of the Party's general line for the transition period set forth by Chairman Mao, there was a great socialist upsurge in the countryside. Liu Shao-ch'i was so scared that he raised a hue and cry about the "difficulties" and "dangers" the running of cooperatives would encounter. He urgently cast forth the reactionary policy of "suspension," "compression" and "consolidation," and drastically cut the number of cooperatives in an attempt to save capitalism from its doom. In his work "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation," his preface and introductory notes to "The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside," and his other brilliant works, Chairman Mao systematically refuted with irrefutable Marxist-Leninist truth all of Liu Shao-ch'i's fallacies on the agricultural cooperation movement, thus clearing away the obstacles to the socialist transformation of agriculture in China, giving the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasant a powerful spiritual weapon for overcoming the evils of opportunism, and encouraging them to go boldly forward along the road of collectivization.

On the question of the transformation of the relations of production in the countryside, our Party adopted step by step the forms and measures for transition set forth by Chairman Mao. That is to say, the mutual-aid teams containing merely some rudiments of socialism progressed to elementary agricultural producer cooperatives of a fully socialist nature. Throughout, the principle of voluntariness and mutual benefit and the method of seizing on a typical example and the gradual popularization of experience gained from it were adopted.

In 1958, the people's communes were set up by the merging of cooperatives and there came into effect the three-level ownership with the production teams as the basic unit. This development enlarged and raised to a new level the collective ownership in the countryside, realizing the combination of industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs and the combination of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries. It also assumed for the first time some of the nature of ownership by the whole people. This gave powerful impetus to the development of China's agricultural production and of the entire rural economy. Successive excellent harvests in China are proof of the superiority of the people's communes.

During the movement for the establishment of people's communes, Liu Shao-ch'i, P'eng Te-huai and a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists denied the necessity of transforming the relations of production. They frenziedly cried that the people's communes "have been established too early" and "have made a mess of things" in a vain attempt to pull back the

wheel of history. As a result, they could only be discarded by history that moves forward.

Chairman Mao teaches: "We have been taking steps to bring about a gradual advance in the socialist transformation of agriculture." The advantage of such methodical advance is "to steadily raise the socialist consciousness of the peasants through their personal experience, to change their mode of life step by step and so minimize any feeling that their mode of life is being changed all of a sudden." As we are Marxist-Leninists advocating the theory of uninterrupted revolution and the theory of the development of revolution by stages, we must acknowledge the uninterrupted character of the course of development as well as the stages of the course of development. The collective ownership system of the people's commune likewise needs a course of development from the low level to the high level, and needs even more a course of development from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people. It should be seen that the present people's commune system--three-level ownership with the production teams as the basic unit--is fundamentally in step with the level of development of productive forces. At the present stage, it is necessary to persist and make perfect this system and bring the people's commune system into full play. The course of continuing with the socialist transformation in the countryside is one for strengthening the proletarian dictatorship there, deepening the struggle between the two roads, conscientiously carrying out well the struggle-criticism-transformation in the countryside, and consolidating and developing the socialist collective economy. It is a course for raising the level of production of the poorer production teams to that of the better-off production teams. It is also a course for gradually enlarging the accumulation of the communes, developing commune industries and gradually realizing agricultural mechanization and electrification under conditions in step with national industrialization. Just as we could only lead step by step the peasants to move away from individual ownership for collective ownership in the past, we also can only lead step by step the peasants' transition from a smaller system of collective ownership to a bigger system of collective ownership, but cannot and also should not attempt to complete this course at one stroke.

Persist in the Class Line of Relying on Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants

The question of whom we should rely on, whom we should unite with and whom we should fight against is a question of primary importance for our carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction in the countryside.

During the land reform, the poor peasants and hired farmhands were the only basic strength our Party could and had to rely on. "Relying on the poor peasants and hired farmhands and firmly uniting with the middle peasants in order to abolish the feudal system" was the class line which Chairman Mao laid down for our Party and which in practice has proved to be the only correct class line.

After the land reform, changes occurred in the class relations of the countryside. The majority of the poor peasants of the past had risen to become new middle peasants. Under such circumstances, some people engendered muddled ideas on the question of whom should be relied on to carry out the agricultural cooperation movement. Liu Shao-ch'i and his like who were consistently hostile to the poor peasants advocated reliance on the rich peasants in a vain attempt to abolish the Party's class line in the countryside.

Chairman Mao firmly refuted this fallacy. He pointed out: "If the working class and the Communist Party wanted to use the socialist spirit and the socialist system to transform completely the whole system of private ownership of means of production by small peasants in the countryside, this could only be done more smoothly by relying on the broad masses of poor peasants who were the semi-proletariat in the past, otherwise, this would be rather difficult. This is because the semi-proletariat in the countryside is made up of people who are less obstinate in regard to the private ownership of means of production by small peasants and are easier to accept socialist transformation."

In light of the new situation that many poor peasants had risen to become middle peasants, Chairman Mao employed the Marxist method of class analysis to make a careful study of the characteristics of the new middle peasants. He pointed out that although the majority of the original poor peasants had risen to become new middle peasants, yet when they were compared with the old middle peasants--with the exception of a few well-to-do middle peasants--the overwhelming majority of them had politically a higher socialist consciousness. Chairman Mao also made a concrete analysis of the old middle peasants, and he pointed out that among the old middle peasants the lower-middle peasants were closer to the lower-middle peasants among the new middle peasants in economic standing and political attitude. Based on this analysis, he put forward the slogan that the Party should rely on the poor and lower-middle peasants in the countryside during the period of socialism. In the agricultural cooperation movement, it was first necessary to let the poor and lower-middle peasants get organized and to select from among them the leading group. Since the poor and lower-middle peasants constitute the overwhelming majority of the rural population, this line fundamentally solved the question of what forces to rely on in carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction in the countryside, the question of how our Party should rely on the greatest majority of the masses in the countryside during the period of socialism.

The upper-middle peasants among the new and old middle peasants, that is, the middle peasants who were better off economically, adopted a wavering attitude toward socialism and some of them endeavored to take the capitalist road. They must be educated, and we must wage struggle against their capitalist tendencies and make them take the socialist road. During the agricultural cooperation movement our Party at all times firmly adhered to the policy of uniting the middle peasants.

After the establishment of people's communes throughout the rural areas, some people came under the influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of the dying out of class struggle" and followed the erroneous trend of neglecting the Party's class line. Absurd ideas appeared, such as "once in the commune, all are of one family," "the class line serves no useful purpose since everybody depends on work points to feed himself," "rely on the poor peasants in the land reform and rely on the middle peasants in production," etc. People with this viewpoint reflected their lack of proletarian feelings toward the poor and lower-middle peasants and their lack of the class viewpoint in work. The essence of these arguments was whether or not reliance on the poor and lower-middle peasants was regarded as the line which the Party must carry out over a long period at the socialist stage.

The "'Draft' Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work" which was drawn up under the auspices of Chairman Mao himself explicitly points out: "Reliance on the poor and lower-middle peasants is the class line which the Party must carry out for a long time. Throughout the historical stage of socialism and prior to the ushering in of communism, we must carry out socialist transformation and socialist construction in the countryside and develop agricultural production. If they are not relied on, who should be relied on? Without relying on them how can we effectively and solidly unite the middle peasants? They are our social foundation for building socialism and communism in the countryside."

This statement tells us: The poor and lower-middle peasants must be relied on to carry out the revolution and the class struggle and they must likewise be relied on to carry out production and construction. They must be relied on not only at the present stage but also in the protracted struggle for the cause of building socialism. The practice of the socialist revolution and construction in the countryside of our country has proved time and again that the poor and lower-middle peasants hate most the old society and cherish most the new society. They are the most active supporters of the socialist road and the socialist economy, and are the strong props of the proletarian dictatorship in the countryside. "In the rural areas, it is only by relying on the poor and lower-middle peasants that we can translate the dictatorship of the proletariat into reality, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, administer state affairs well, run well the collective economy in agriculture, effectively suppress and reform all the hostile elements and smash the encirclement of the spontaneous forces of capitalism. Otherwise, none of these things can be done."

The fundamental question in revolution is political power. In the final analysis, the struggle between the two classes, the two roads in the countryside is the question of whether power is in the hands of the poor and lower-middle peasants or in the hands of the bourgeoisie, that is, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists and their agents. We must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao teaching, and at no time may we forget the poor and lower-middle peasants and to establish their superiority. We must also pay attention to uniting the middle peasants and all forces that can be united.

It is necessary to strengthen the leadership of the Party and constantly give the poor and lower-middle peasants class education and socialist education.

The class enemies frequently utilize the feudal clannish relations, the feudal "family tree" or bourgeois factionalism to cover up and obliterate the class relations and to confuse the class front so as to make the poor and lower-middle peasants forget their bitter enmity and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They frequently ingratiate themselves with and corrupt the cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants by inviting them to dinner, sending them gifts, enticing them with money or beautiful girls, or resorting to cajolery, flattery and other sugar-coated cannon-balls of the bourgeoisie, so as to make them depart from the leadership of the Party, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the socialist road.

We must constantly and continuously arm the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants with Chairman Mao's great teaching, "Never forget the class struggle" so as to arouse ceaselessly their class feelings, heighten their class consciousness and consolidate and develop the revolutionary class ranks by letting the older generation recall how they had suffered from the oppression of the exploiting classes in the past, and the younger generation to know that the fruit of the revolutionary struggle is not easy to come by. We must constantly and continuously educate the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants with Chairman Mao's great teaching that "the socialist road is the one and only road for agriculture in China," so that they may understand profoundly the disasters brought by Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line to the poor and lower-middle peasants, heighten their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines and steadfastly take the socialist road. We must select those who have a high consciousness of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and are full of revolutionary enthusiasm to form the leading group so that the political power in the countryside will forever be in the hands of the poor and lower-middle peasants who persist in taking the socialist road.

Mechanize Agriculture on the Basis of Agricultural Cooperation

As the great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out, "we are presently carrying out not only a revolution in the aspect of social system to turn private ownership into public ownership but also a technical revolution to turn handicraft production into large-scale production with modern machinery, and these two kinds of revolution are combined together." To realize gradually the mechanization and electrification of agriculture on the basis of agricultural collectivization is China's road for the development of socialist agriculture.

Chairman Mao has creatively solved the problem concerning the relations between cooperation and mechanization in our agriculture. He points out: "With conditions as they are in our country cooperation must precede the use of big machinery (in capitalist countries agriculture develops in a capitalist way). This wise assertion of Chairman Mao's has

smashed Liu Shao-ch'i's criminal scheme to obstruct and sabotage the agricultural cooperation movement by advocating "mechanization before cooperation."

When the relations of production impede the development of the productive forces, it is necessary to change the former before the latter can be developed to any extent. This is a universal law. The tremendous role played by the advanced relations of production in promoting the development of the productive forces has manifested itself fully in China's countryside since agricultural cooperation and the establishment of people's communes. In their struggle to transform Nature on a large scale, the broad masses of peasants have felt more and more the need for machinery, chemical fertilizer, electric power and other means of agricultural production. Meanwhile, the development of the collective economy has also created most favorable conditions for the gradual realization of agricultural mechanization in the scale of production, the accumulation of capital funds and other aspects.

Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up China's experience in socialist construction and the experience of other countries. He specifically points out that in building our socialist economy, "industry must develop together with agriculture" and that it is necessary to "take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor," and combine the priority development of heavy industry with the rapid development of agriculture. This brilliant concept of Chairman Mao's is an important creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory on socialist construction and is of great significance. It gives the general orientation for the development of the national economy throughout the historical period of socialism. In order to find a radical solution to the question of accelerating the development of agriculture and to provide industry and the national economy as a whole with a completely reliable and increasingly strong foundation, it is essential to speed up the technical transformation of our agriculture. As Chairman Mao points out, the fundamental way out for agriculture lies in mechanization. Only by gradually mechanizing agriculture can we advance agriculture on a large scale and on a broad front to a great depth, greatly raise labor productivity, further solve the question of conforming the development of agriculture with the development of industry, and further consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

Accelerating the technical transformation of agriculture and the development of agricultural production is also an important question in implementing and carrying out Chairman Mao's great strategic policy, "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people." Having made a success of agriculture, increased the grain reserve and strengthened the technical forces in the countryside, in the event of war or natural disasters, we shall have adequate strength to meet the livelihood need of the people, the war need and the industrial need and shall forever be unbeatable.

The line guiding agricultural mechanization in China is fundamentally different from that in the revisionist countries. The Khrushchev modern revisionist clique and its successors oppose the socialist revolution in the countryside. They see only the material factor but not the human factor.

They use "material incentives" to feed the new kulaks and serve the all-round restoration of capitalism in the rural areas. Theirs is an out-and-out revisionist line. As a result, their rural economy is in a mess and their market flooded with capitalism, while their workers suffer from shortage of both staple and non-staple foods; no machinery can extricate them from their predicament in agriculture. We persist in the socialist revolution and use revolutionization to command mechanization and lead it forward. We hold that it is the human and not the material factor that plays the decisive role in building socialism in the rural areas. People armed with Mao Tsetung thought have the greatest fighting power. Machinery must be mastered and operated by man. Without man, even the best machine is nothing more than a mass of iron. Advanced farming technique can display its power to the maximum only when it is in the hands of people armed with Mao Tsetung thought.

In mechanizing agriculture, we must adhere to the policy of "walking on two legs." Industry must energetically support the technical transformation of agriculture. All branches of industry and all other trades must be shifted further to the orbit of taking agriculture as the foundation. We must speed up the construction of farm machinery and repair works and small chemical fertilizer plants at the hsien level. Local industry must develop in the correct direction and try in every way to serve the technical transformation of agriculture. Measures must be taken to improve conventional farm implements in accordance with local requirements and to give full play to the initiative and creativeness of the peasant masses. Only by promoting indigenous and modern undertakings side by side, integrating the big, medium and small undertakings and launching mass movements on a large scale can we accelerate the mechanization of agriculture in China.

The "Eight-Point Charter" for agriculture formulated by Chairman Mao is the scientific summing up of China's farming experience. In the course of mechanizing agriculture, we must carry it out in its entirety. We must pay great attention to the breeding and care of draft animals and to the accumulation of farmyard manure. If our eyes see only tractors and chemical fertilizer but neglect intensive cultivation and the important role of draft animals and farmyard manure, this will be detrimental to present-day agricultural production and to speeding up the mechanization of agriculture.

In his report "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation," Chairman Mao had opportunely brought the task of mechanizing agriculture before the whole Party. Later, he ceaselessly made arrangements and drew up plans, and called on the whole Party to fight for carrying out this great task. However, Liu Shao-ch'i and company made every effort to boycott and undermine the progress of agricultural mechanization. Liu Shao-ch'i was the chief culprit undermining the collectivization and mechanization of agriculture in China.

Over the past few years, Chairman Mao has again put forward the question of accelerating the mechanization of agriculture to the whole Party. Chairman Mao's great call is being translated by the peasants in their

hundreds of millions into revolutionary practice. We must follow Chairman Mao's teaching, lead this movement with great enthusiasm, and attain as quickly as possible the great goal of the modernization of agriculture which Chairman Mao has advanced and the hundreds of millions of peasants have been longing for.

Political Work Is the Life-Blood of All Economic Work

"Political work is the life-blood of all economic work. This is particularly true at a time when the social and economic system is undergoing fundamental change." This celebrated Marxist-Leninist thesis of Chairman Mao's has elucidated to the full extent the extreme importance of bringing proletarian politics to the fore in the countryside.

The socialist transformation and modernization of agriculture can be accomplished only by relying on the socialist-minded poor peasants and lower-middle peasants. Therefore, we must have a firm grasp of the struggle between the two classes, the two road, the two lines in the countryside, and of the education of the peasants with Mao Tsetung thought--that is, the question of remolding man. We must take bringing proletarian politics to the fore as our guiding principle in doing a good job in all work in the countryside.

Bringing proletarian politics to the fore is determined by the objective law of the class struggle under socialist conditions. Vice Chairman Lin points out: "Bringing politics to the fore is not a policy which can be carried out at will in this or that way. It is a fundamental measure advanced in accordance with the law of development of the socialist society and the economic foundation of the socialist society. It is in contravention of the law of development of the socialist society not to bring politics to the fore."

The socialist transformation of agriculture is a revolution leading to the triumph of socialism over capitalism, a revolution even more profound than the armed revolutionary struggles of the past. This determines that the violent struggle between the two classes, the two roads, the two lines inevitably threads through the course of the socialist transformation of agriculture. The moment we lessen our vigilance and ease up on political work, capitalist tendencies will run rampant. It was in the course of fighting against capitalist tendencies that the agricultural producer cooperatives and later, the people's communes were set up and consolidated. This is precisely what Chairman Mao has pointed out: "After the establishment of a cooperative, many struggles must be gone through before it can be consolidated. After its consolidation, once it is slack, it can collapse again."

Following the universal establishment of people's communes, some comrades thought that "the iron-clad regime would not fall." Facts prove that this lethargic way of thinking is wrong. It has now been clear to people that in order to sabotage and disintegrate the system of collective ownership, the class enemies and capitalist forces always resort to the tactics of "sneaking in" and "pulling out." They try every possible means

to find agents from within our camp, thereby usurping the leadership of the communes and production brigades and causing the collective economy of the people's communes to degenerate gradually. By way of the socialist education movement and especially the great proletarian cultural revolution, we have smashed the attack launched by the forces for capitalist restoration that had Liu Shao-ch'i as their arch representative, and seized back that portion of power usurped by the capitalist roaders, thus further consolidating the collective ownership of the people's communes. However, the struggle is by no means over. As the revolution develops in depth, the enemies will constantly change their tactics and resort to new means of attack.

At present, among some communes and production brigades, a handful of class enemies--apart from continuing to carry out sabotage and make trouble in the political sphere--are undermining the socialist foundation in the economic sphere by resorting to speculation and manipulation, corruption and theft, agitating a few well-to-do rich peasant to abandon farming for trade and promoting side-occupations and working on one's own. We must pay close attention to the new trends in the struggle between the two roads, and expose and smash in good time the attacks launched by the capitalist forces. Without this struggle, nothing can be said about consolidating and developing the collective economy.

Chairman Mao points out: "The serious problem is the education of the peasantry." "The basic task in political work is constantly to imbue the peasant masses with the socialist ideology and to criticize the tendency toward capitalism."

The best way to criticize capitalist tendencies is to carry out revolutionary mass criticism. We must go further in criticizing a complete set of fallacies contained in the counter-revolutionary revisionist line peddled by Liu Shao-ch'i, such as "san-tzu i-pao" [referring to the extension of private plots and of free markets, the increase in the number of private enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas on the basis of individual households], the "four freedoms" [referring to freedom to practice usury, hire labor, sell land and engage in private enterprises], "work points in command," and "material incentives," in criticizing the spontaneous forces of capitalism expressed in various forms, in resolutely attacking the illegal practice of speculation, manipulation and usury, in criticizing the four old customs of the exploiting classes, marriage for money, feudal superstition, and the vestiges of the feudal way of thinking that seeks to substitute the class relations with clannish relations. All these criticisms must be raised to the level of the struggle between the two roads and the two lines and carried out again and again. It is necessary to boycott firmly the bad style of excessive feasting, extravagance and waste and make every commune member carry out to the letter the policy of running the communes through diligence and frugality.

The capitalist forces representing the old social system will not be reconciled to their defeat. They will invariably make use of every opportunity to take the capitalist road. The debate on whether the socialist

system is superior to the capitalist system or vice versa will continue, and we should prepare ourselves to carry on this debate with them for decades to come. We must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, make constant efforts for "the propagation of the superiority of the new system and the repudiation of the backwardness of the old," so that revolutionary public opinion overwhelms the counter-revolutionary views and the lofty socialist morality prevails over the vicious influence of capitalism.

We must go further in launching the mass movement for the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works. By way of running study courses and holding discussion and application meetings, we must arm the peasant masses with Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thoroughly shatter the bourgeois idea of "self" and foster the proletarian concept of "public interests," and establish the idea of tilling land for the revolution. In response to Chairman Mao's great call "in agriculture learn from Tachai," we must develop socialist agriculture through self-reliance and hard work to achieve greater, faster, better and more economic results. We must firmly adhere to the correct political orientation, boycott the various kinds of ideological influence of the exploiting classes, and insure that the socialist economy will never degenerate. We must carry out solid work with unflinching revolutionary zeal, conquer the barren mountains and treacherous rivers, overcome natural disasters, swiftly transform the poor and blank look, and perform miracles in the world.

In order to instill socialist ideas into the masses of peasants, it is first necessary to do a good job in revolutionizing ideologically the leading bodies at various levels. The leading body stands for political power. Whether or not the proletarian dictatorship can be consolidated and the collective economy of the people's communes can be developed is determined by whether there is a good leading body. The basic yardstick for determining whether a leading body is good or bad is to see whether it can steadfastly carry out and bravely defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, whether it resolutely follows the socialist road and whether it dares to lead the broad masses to wage struggle against the class enemies and capitalist forces. In the present process of consolidating and building the Party in the countryside, it is necessary to give the most important place to the consolidation and building of leading bodies at all levels and to guard against doing things for show.

The conscientious implementation of the proletarian policies laid down by the Party for the rural areas constitutes an important part of political work in the rural areas. The policies of the Party are the embodiment of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. They represent the vital interests of the broad masses of peasants and reflect the objective laws governing the class struggle and economic development at the present stage. Only by conscientiously carrying out the policies of the Party can we bring the revolutionary initiative of the peasant masses into full play, guard against Right and "Left" deviations, and guarantee the rapid development of the collective economy of the people's communes in the direction of socialism.

In purifying the class ranks, in the work of consolidating the Party and in criticizing capitalist tendencies, we should, without exception, strictly distinguish the two types of contradictions which are different in nature--the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people.

In the economic field, we must firmly adhere to the socialist principles of "to each according to his work" and "exchange of equal values." We must correctly distinguish "to each according to his work" and "exchange of equal values" from "work points in command" and "material incentives."

In production, we must firmly adhere to the policy of taking grain as the key link, developing a diversified economy and insuring all-round development. We must emphasize submission to the unified economic plan of the state, and on the premise of submission to the unified plan, policies and laws of the state, a certain amount of flexibility should be allowed.

In regard to the distribution of income, it is necessary to take into consideration the interests of the state,of the collective and of the individual, and oppose the erroneous tendency to have an eye only for the immediate interests by distributing everything for consumption. The margin of accumulation must also be not so big as to affect the income of the commune members in that year.

At present, a new high tide in socialist revolution and socialist construction is rising in the rural areas. The broad masses of the peasants are in high spirits and are full of militancy, and their socialist initiative is greater than ever before. This situation is most inspiring. We must stand at the head of the mass movement, and energetically, enthusiastically lead the masses forward with all our efforts. In compliance with Chairman Mao's important instruction on "overall planning and stronger leadership," we must make overall planning for our own locality and unit according to local conditions, and conscientiously carry out well the struggle-criticism-transformation in a deep-going and meticulous manner unit by unit. We must pay great attention to the method of work, to adopting the mass line, and to actual results. We must show concern for the livelihood of the masses and pay attention to integrating work with rest and safeguarding the revolutionary initiative of the masses. Let us hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, follow the course charted by Chairman Mao, and win with confidence new and still greater victories on the agricultural front!

* * *

Refuting the Theory of "Waste Is Justified"

by

Kung Hsiao-wen (宮效文)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, January 30, 1970)

Our Project No. 9424 is a large-scale project sponsored by the State. In the course of construction, we have kept firmly in mind Chairman Mao's great teaching "Save every copper for the war effort, for the revolutionary cause, and for our economic construction," and we have carried on a mass movement to increase production and practice economy. We have carried forward the proletarian revolutionary spirit of building our country through diligence and frugality, mobilized the masses, resolutely struggled against decadent ideas and shameful acts of extravagance and waste, and checked and found a large quantity of state property and material at the construction site.

Our experience is that, to launch a movement for increasing production and practicing economy, we must resolutely criticize and repudiate all forms of the theory that "waste is justified." All the spurious "justifications" must be thoroughly refuted. Only by carrying revolutionary mass criticism through to the end can we carry this struggle against waste through to the end. Some say: "The building of a large factory is a matter which concerns the future generations, and more money should be spent so as to make it a regular factory."

In the eyes of the few comrades who have adopted the style of a rich man's prodigal son, "regular" means spending more money, and spending less money is "irregular"; "regular" means to put the stress on things big and foreign, and "irregular" is to make use of things crude and simple; what is designed by the "experts" is "regular," and methods contrived by the workers are "irregular." The comrades who harbor such bourgeois ideas certainly will not feel ashamed in wasting state property and money. On the contrary, they will feel that it is an honor to be able to do so!

We want to ask them: By the "standards" of what class do you call a thing "regular" or not? If what you want is a proletarian "standard," a socialist "standard," you certainly will carry out the policy of "plain living and hard struggle" and "building our country through diligence and frugality," and adhere to the principle of "striving for economy so as to do more things with less money. If you want to follow a bourgeois "standard," a revisionist "standard," you certainly will put the stress on things big and foreign, be extravagant and wasteful, and squander money like dirt.

Since there are two kinds of "standards" in the world, there will inevitably be struggle. In order to implement Chairman Mao's policy of "relying on our own efforts" and "plain living and hard struggle" in every enterprise, we must go through a fierce ideological struggle. Only by waging a continuous struggle can we succeed in using the proletarian, socialist "standard" to destroy and replace the capitalist, revisionist "standard."

For example, we had a sharp debate on whether we should build and install a blast furnace as a whole, or install it by sections. Some people wanted to install it by sections according to foreign "rules," which would require a 15-meter-wide road, 12,000 cross-ties, plus a lot of other materials and equipment, requiring an investment of nearly 1 million yuan.

Based on their own experience, the workers opposed this method of putting the stress on things big and foreign, and wanted to build and install the blast furnace as a whole. Some people stepped forward and opposed this, saying: "This method has no foreign rules to base itself on." The workers answered: "We do not understand foreign rules. We only know 'surmount every difficulty to win victory.'"

The masses were mobilized to discuss the matter. After a careful study, the majority of the masses held that building and installing the entire blast furnace was feasible. The road was only seven meters wide and only 2,000 cross-ties were required, so that a lot of material and equipment was saved. The time required for the installation was shortened by one and a half months--truly an example of achieving quicker, better, and more economical results.

The construction of a larger factory is a matter of long-range significance. It can be said that it concerns "many future generations." The question is, what do you want to pass down to future generations? The proletarian revolutionaries should pass on from generation to generation the revolutionary ideology, the revolutionary line, and the revolutionary working style.

They must not poison the younger generation with bourgeois ideas and working styles, such as "putting the stress on things big and foreign," "seeking the big and all-inclusive," "extravagance and waste," and so forth.

We must give prominence to proletarian politics and put proletarian politics in command of production and construction. Otherwise, even if we construct factories, it is still very possible that they will be usurped by capitalist methods.

Actually, those who are bent on following the bourgeois "standard" are not really concerned about the next generation. They are, in short, thinking only about themselves.

Some say: "So long as the schedule for putting it into operation can be advanced, it doesn't hurt to waste a little." This means that waste is permissible so long as the task can be fulfilled; your stress on practicing economy would affect the fulfillment of the political task.

Certainly, to advance the schedule for putting it into operation is a political task required in order to "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people." However, a struggle between the two roads and two lines does exist as far as our attitude toward this political task is concerned. Are there not some comrades who are

now energetically putting stress on things big and foreign and on extravagance and waste, under the pretext of the importance and the great significance of the tasks they are fulfilling?

We would like to ask these comrades: Is it right, when a task is important, that there be no need for us to give prominence to proletarian politics or to vigorously carry out a mass movement of class struggle in the course of construction? The truth is: The more important the task, the more it becomes necessary to hold high the great Red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, to give prominence to proletarian politics, to vigorously carry out mass movements, and to do well in the struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines in the course of construction.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The principle of economy is one of the basic principles of socialist economics." To practice strict economy and combat waste is by no means a minor question of saving a few yuan for a few meters of material. Rather, it is a big question of whether or not we should advocate the revolutionary working style of plain living and hard struggle, and carry forward the revolutionary traditions of the proletariat.

Extravagance and waste are such things as will not only result in extremely great losses economically but, more important, will also bring about a flood of bourgeois ideas everywhere to corrode our cadres and the ranks of our workers politically and ideologically. If we fail to vigorously grasp the revolutionization of the people's thinking in the course of construction, or temper a contingent of cadres and a contingent of the working class who are armed with Mao Tsetung thought, who persist in plain living and hard struggle, and who can fulfill the task under any situation, but instead allow the fungus of bourgeois ideas to penetrate the people's minds, then the achievement gained in advancing the schedule of operations can still be sabotaged.

Those comrades who hold that it does not matter much whether they waste a little, think that, so long as more money is spent and more equipment and materials are issued, the construction of a project will be completed on schedule. They think that if they make careful and detailed calculations and practice strict economy, the construction of the project will not be guaranteed. This kind of thinking pays no regard to people but only to material.

Greater, faster, better, and more economical results are a dialectical unity. We must emphasize speed and place even greater emphasis on quality. The key to realizing all this is reliance on and mobilizing of the enthusiasm and wisdom of the broad masses of workers. So long as the masses are fully mobilized, it is entirely possible to achieve better and more economical results in addition to greater and faster results. Otherwise, even if more money is spent on the project, the results will be the opposite--small and slow.

Cases like this are not rare in our construction project. At first, in order to accelerate the project, we requested that arrangements be made for more orders to be placed in the battle for equipment. Later, we turned the planned list of equipment to be manufactured over to the broad masses of workers for their review. The workers struck from the list several thousand

sets and units of the equipment, which were either not needed in the first place or not required for the time being. This has enabled the units which took part in the battle for equipment to concentrate their forces to fight a war of annihilation. The necessary and urgently needed equipment was turned over to us for installation either on or ahead of schedule. Thus, we have cut down the investment in basic construction and become more able to implement the plan for advanced fulfillment.

If we have no regard for people, but only for material, we still cannot attain the goal of quantity and speed, even though a higher price is paid. If we pay regard to both people and material, and bring people's initiative into full play to practice strict economy, we will be able to win time and achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results.

If we pay lip service to "politics" while in practice allowing the state's construction funds and precious materials to be wasted, does this not amount to using the slogan of advancing fulfillment of the project as "political capital" with which to beg for funds and equipment from the state? Is this not "giving prominence to proletarian politics" in words and giving prominence to bourgeois politics in practice?

Some say: "Ours is a key project, and we should get whatever we want." The more you stress their importance, the more they will take the opportunity to request more equipment and erect more buildings. It seems to them that once their project is listed as a key one they can ask for anything and can do nothing themselves, while still considering themselves as being entitled to call the services of others inadequate.

For instance, a responsible person of a certain unit once said: "Anyway, we can submit a truthful balance sheet. It is just the right time for us to build ourselves up." He was requesting equipment with the idea of raising the price sky-high and "wearing a three-foot hat, prepared to be cut down to size" [referring to the "bourgeois" tactic of requesting more resources than needed, in anticipation of being cut back somewhat].

For example, one workshop equipped with power machinery listed a figure of 20 million yuan when requesting equipment. Actually, 11 million yuan would have sufficed.

What is a key construction project of the state? It is none other than what is urgently needed by the state, the people, and the revolution. Therefore, it is all the more necessary for comrades who work in key construction units to stress the interest of the revolution everywhere and in all their work. They are not permitted to go against the interests of the revolution. Those who think that, just because theirs is a key project, they can become spendthrifts and spend more than necessary are precisely those who have the least understanding of the team "key project," and they are the very ones who are damaging the key projects.

Just think: If because the project is a key one we can be wasteful and get and use more than necessary, will not more key enterprises which could

have been run with still better results with the state's human, material, and financial resources become weakened as a result? Does this not amount to damaging the key projects?

Participants in a key project of the state! We have received enthusiastic support from many fraternal areas and units. This has guaranteed a quick start on the construction project and put it into early operation. We have come to the realization that, in order to "guarantee [the fulfillment of] a key project," it is necessary to first guarantee that Mao Tsetung thought is placed in command and prominence is given to proletarian policies. If the stress is placed only on the material "guarantee" without placing politics in command, the tendency to request equipment and fight for investment at the basic level will be encouraged.

We have adopted this same attitude toward the project units at the lower levels. If we have put stress on "guarantee," what is reflected at the lower levels will be "request," and the consequence will be "waste." According to the original plan, 700 cubic meters of lumber were to be issued for one of the project units. However, thinking that this unit was important, the production command doubled the amount and issued 1,400 cubic meters instead.

What is easily come by is freely used. The lumber was used for things beneath its size and quality, and great waste resulted. This has been an incisive lesson for us.

On the other hand, in spite of relatively inferior material conditions, many advanced cases of diligence and frugality in practicing economy have emerged among some other project departments, due to the fact that the comrades there have persisted in placing proletarian politics in command and in taking the road of relying on their own efforts and practicing plain living and hard struggle.

One such unit is the No. 5 company of the railway battalion. In order to save even one single piece of brick or lumber and accelerate project construction, the people in this company used several culverts connected together as their dormitory and tool-shed when they had no house in which to live while building a bridge. They did not request a single piece of bamboo or a mat from the upper level. Braving bitter cold and fighting against wind and snow, they fulfilled their task outstandingly under constant difficulties.

In order to demolish the theory that "waste is justified," it is also necessary to build a sound organizational system so that waste of state properties caused by anarchism, small group mentality, and so on, can be stopped. This likewise requires a mobilization of the masses to sharply warn those few persons who regard the wealth of the state as their own or as belonging to a small unit: "Comrades, it is very dangerous to act like this. Be careful not to fall into the quagmire of violating discipline and the laws!" They must become alarmed so as to be enabled to correct their errors.

This mass struggle against waste which we have launched is a movement to criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line on economics. It is also an incisive lesson for the broad masses who took part in the construction of the project on the struggle between the two ways of thinking and the two lines. It has achieved preliminary success in correcting the phenomenon of serious waste in the course of constructing the project, saving a great deal of state property, and greatly accelerating the project's construction speed. At the same time, it has also brought about a very profound change in the spiritual outlook of the contingent.

In the final analysis, whether to practice economy or to be wasteful is a reflection of the struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, waste is an important weapon used by the bourgeoisie in its offensive against the proletariat. It not only undermines and disintegrates the socialist economy, but also seriously and directly corrodes our ranks politically.

Numerous facts have proved that, in those units wherein the problems of waste and extravagance are extremely serious and have not been solved for a long time, there is usually a handful of class enemies trying to fish in troubled waters and to engage in activities of corruption, embezzlement, and speculation in order to get some persons in trouble.

Adhering to Chairman Mao's teaching, we have gained some achievements in practicing strict economy and combating waste by relying on and mobilizing the masses. However, we still fall far short of the demand of the party and the state. From now on, we definitely will continue to mobilize and rely on the masses to carry through to the end this struggle of combating waste, constantly exert our efforts to overcome our shortcomings, do well in our work in various fields, and wage a struggle to build the construction site of the project into a great school shining with the brilliance of Mao Tsetung thought.

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Carry Out Well the Class Struggle in the Sphere of Rural Economy

by

the Revolutionary Mass Criticism Writing Group
of Anhwei Province

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, January 30, 1970)

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note: This magazine has published two ideological commentaries on the class struggle in the sphere of economy. This is the third commentary and it deals with problems of the rural areas.

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The present situation in the countryside is excellent. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, a new high tide in the socialist revolution and socialist construction is now rising in the wake of the deep-going development of the struggle-criticism-transformation. However, it should also be seen that in a small number of communes, brigades and market towns and in some economic sectors, the struggle between the two roads is still very acute, and the attacks launched by the capitalist forces against socialism are still very rampant. The broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary cadres are most indignant over the attacks launched by the class enemies. The New Year's Day editorial of the two newspapers and one magazine points out that it is necessary "to consolidate and develop the economic foundation of socialism in the economic sphere and to hit methodically bourgeois corruption and sabotage." Some places have mobilized or are in the course of actively mobilizing the masses to organize forces and discriminately make exposure and wage struggle in a well-led manner. They have scored very good results and won the support of the broad masses. However, there are also a small number of comrades who do not pay enough attention to the class struggle in the sphere of rural economy. They entertain some muddled ideas, and they even turn a blind eye to thhngs and are in a lethargic state.

One argument is that "since the situation is excellent, the presence of some capitalist tendencies is of no importance to the general situation." This view is wrong.

What is our general situation? In the countryside, the general situation is to implement and carry out Chairman Mao's great policies of "grasp revolution and promote production" and "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people," to take the struggle between the two classes, the two roads, the two lines as the key link, and through the practice of struggle-criticism-transformation, to consolidate further the collective economy of the people's communes, energetically develop agricultural production and consolidate the proletarian dictatorship. But the capitalist forces in the countryside are

vainly attempting to sabotage this general situation of ours and undercut socialism.

The capitalist forces of the countryside incite some people into taking up side-occupations, working on their own, abandoning farming for trade in order to weaken the socialist collective economy. Or else, they advertize in the name of "increasing collective income" that production must "take money as the key link" and advocate capitalist free operation in a vain attempt to change the direction of development of the collective economy. Or else, they promote counter-revolutionary economism in the distribution of income, and engineer the distribution of everything for consumption in order to undermine socialist re-production. Or else, they employ revisionist "material incentives" to stimulate and befuddle people, and to slacken their revolutionary determination in transforming nature and soil. Or else, they practice corruption, larceny, speculation, manipulation, etc. All these things play the role of undermining the system of collective ownership and socialist agricultural production in our countryside. Can it be said that they are "of no importance to the general situation"?

The capitalist forces of the countryside directly undermine the political foundation of the proletarian dictatorship--the worker-peasant alliance. In some places, they resort to the means of offering drinks and meals to other people in order to ingratiate themselves with the latter. They deal with the commercial establishments through the back door and rush to buy certain means of production and articles for everyday use, supplied by the state for speculation and manipulation purposes. Meanwhile, they also buy and sell food grain and certain industrial chemicals to disrupt the state purchasing plans. All these things play the role of undermining the normal flow of trade between town and country and the practice of mutual support and aid between industry and agriculture, and between the workers and the peasants.

When a handful of class enemies launch an attack against socialism, they clamor that they intend to "conquer the country" with cigarettes and wine. They make every effort to corrupt our cadres and some poor and lower-middle peasants--especially the leading bodies--with sugar-coated cannonballs. Can it be said that this is "of no importance to the general situation"?

Chairman Mao teaches us: "While the economy is the foundation, politics is the concentrated expression of the economy." All class struggles are political struggles conducted around the seizure and consolidation of political power. The capitalist forces of the countryside vainly attempt to undermine our collective ownership and our worker-peasant alliance and to corrupt our cadres. All this is for the purpose of restoring capitalism, a vain attempt for transforming the proletarian dictatorship into bourgeois dictatorship. If we did not carry out energetically the class struggle in the economic sphere to repulse the attack launched by the class enemies, there would still be a danger for some of our new-born revolutionary regimes in the countryside to fall into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

Can it be said that this is "of no importance to the general situation"?

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: "If socialism does not occupy the rural front, capitalism assuredly will." This is the objective law of the class struggle. It is necessary to carry out the class struggle in the sphere of rural economy in order to enable socialism to occupy all positions in the rural areas. This is precisely the general situation which we cannot forget every year and every month. It is an important struggle for defending the economic foundation of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, an important struggle for consolidating and developing the fruit of victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. We should strengthen the leadership of the Party and energetically grasp well this struggle; we can never regard it as of no importance.

Is "the problem complex and difficult to handle"? Like the class struggle in the political and ideological sphere, the class struggle in the economic sphere is rather complicated and it takes much efforts to handle this struggle well. Chairman Mao teaches: "We work and fight in order to solve difficulties. A good comrade should go to the place where the difficulty is greatest." The basic task of our leading body is to lead the broad masses to wage struggle against the class enemies. The complex class struggle in the economic sphere is precisely a very good place for our leading bodies to temper and test themselves, to strengthen their ideological revolutionization and to raise their ability to wage struggle against the enemy. If a person dares not grasp and wage struggle against it just because the problem is "complex and difficult to handle," then he ceases to adopt the attitude of a revolutionary and to play the vanguard role of leading the masses in battle.

The class struggle in the economic sphere is a component of the whole struggle for the proletariat to overcome the bourgeoisie, and we must learn to wage it. By way of this struggle we shall have a more concrete understanding of the means and tactics adopted by the class enemies to attack socialism and a more profound understanding of the laws governing the struggle between the two classes, the two roads in the countryside, and we shall be able to manage better our socialist economy. Some economic problems appear to involve many things, but so long as we tightly grasp this key link--the class struggle, mobilize the masses to the full extent, conduct thoroughgoing investigation and study and ceaselessly sum up experiences, it is not difficult to solve the problems that are "complicated and difficult to handle."

Some comrades are afraid of grasping struggle in this sphere because they have not made a correct class appraisal. They fail to see that confronted by the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary people who have tempered themselves and raised their socialist consciousness to an unprecedented high in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the sabotage activities of the capitalist forces are nothing more than their deathbed struggle. The fall of capitalism is irretrievable and the rise of socialism to prosperity cannot be obstructed. We should take the proletarian stand and provided we have firm faith in the proletarian

strength to overcome the bourgeoisie, there is no reason at all that we should fear the capitalist forces. It should be seen that in some places the capitalist forces were rampant for a time on the ground that some of our comrades were struck by "fear" and they dared not go to deal with and struggle against them. This tells us that if you do not struggle against them, they will struggle against you, and once you struggle against them, they are not so great. Confronted by the revolutionary people armed with Mao Tsetung thought, all class enemies are doomed to complete failure.

The struggle between the two classes, the two roads in the economic sphere will certainly be reflected within the revolutionary ranks and the leading bodies. There is nothing strange in this connection. At the time of launching the class struggle in the sphere of rural economy, we must wage struggle not only against a handful of class enemies but also against various erroneous ideas and tendencies within our ranks in accordance with the policy of "unity criticism and self-criticism unity." If an individual comrade is unclean and has made mistakes, then we should direct ideological and political work toward him and help him take the initiative to combat self and criticize revisionism so that he can wash his hands and take a bath, go into battle with light equipment and face the enemy together with us. He should get rid of the poison spread by the enemy in the struggle, decontaminate himself and continue with the revolution of his advance. Some people dare not wage ideological struggle for fear of "involving the core and affecting unity." This way of thinking is the work style of vulgar liberalism, a corrosive to the leading body, and it objectively plays the role of aiding the capitalist forces. What we call unity is principled unity, revolutionary unity, unity with "the objective of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship." This kind of unity can only be formed, consolidated and developed in struggle.

Chairman Mao teaches: "We advocate positive ideological struggle because it is the weapon for attaining unity within the Party and the revolutionary bodies and facilitating fighting." Only by launching a positive ideological struggle can the unity of the leading body be strengthened, the proletarian dictatorship be consolidated, and the objective of "uniting and educating the people, hitting and wiping out the enemy" be attained. If for fear of "offending people and hurting their feelings" we say nothing although we know very well those people with capitalist tendencies within the revolutionary ranks are wrong, and the germs of capitalism are allowed to grow and spread, then we are actually weakening and undermining unity within the revolutionary ranks, weakening and undermining the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination.

There are also some comrades who over-simplify the grasping of the class struggle in the sphere of rural economy and think that so long as the few bad ringleaders are dealt with, there is no need to mobilize the masses. This way of thinking is also incorrect.

The class struggle in the economic sphere is closely linked with the class struggle in the political and ideological sphere. The existence of bourgeois ideas, the existence of old ideas, old culture, old customs and

old habits offers conditions for the activities of the "few bad ringleaders" of the bourgeoisie. The activities of the capitalist forces are often rampant in places where we have loosened our grip on ideological and political work and on revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, and in which bourgeois ideas have spread. A very small number of bad people must be punished according to law. But this alone cannot wipe out the reactionary influence of the bourgeois ideology and completely get rid of the corruption of the capitalist forces. Consequently, we can never regard this struggle as one for "punishing a few bad ringleaders," but should first regard it as a political and ideological battle, a political struggle for consolidating the economic foundation of socialism.

The launching of the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation to a great depth among the masses is the central link for making a success of this struggle. It is necessary boldly to arouse the masses, take Mao Tsetung thought as the weapon, thoroughly criticize and repudiate renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, wipe out the vestiges of such poisons as "san-tzu i-pao," "four freedoms," "material incentives," etc. Only in this way can we sharpen the eyes of the broad masses and the cadres, incite their hate against capitalism, and firmly expose the criminal activities of a handful of class enemies to undermine the economic foundation of socialism and the proletarian dictatorship. Capitalism can thus be made to stink and become a rat in the street which everybody wants to hit, and there is no more room for the activities of the handful of class enemies. The broad masses and the cadres can be educated so that at all times they can consciously boycott the capitalist tendencies and steadfastly follow the socialist road. The poor and lower-middle peasants have aptly said: "With the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation widely carried out, self-interest has no where to hide, there is no escape for the enemy, and the red regime is firmly defended."

In the struggle, we must strictly distinguish and correctly handle the two types of contradictions of different nature, carry out to the letter Chairman Mao's various proletarian policies, save those people with mistakes and unearth the deeply entrenched class enemies. In methods of work, it is necessary to lay hold of good models and carry out work methodically, intensively and meticulously.

The launching of the class struggle in the sphere of rural economy gives a strong impetus to the practice of struggle-criticism-transformation in the countryside. In the struggle, we can better discover the weak links in economic work, reform the irrational rules and regulations, improve business management, strengthen the organizational structure and sensibly control the various links of the economic sphere. In this way, we can guarantee the defeat of capitalism by socialism not only politically and ideologically but also organizationally, and the construction of the rural front into the socialist bastion of iron which no force can destroy.

* * *

Strengthen Revolutionary Unity, Deal Blows to the Class Enemy

by

Shen Yeh-liao (沈岩辽)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, January 30, 1970)

Great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: The proletariat "must rally the vast majority of people round itself and isolate and attack a handful of enemies to the greatest extent." This great thought to Chairman Mao gives a penetrating expression to the dialectical relation between strengthening revolutionary unity and attacking the class enemy. The more the revolutionary people unite broadly, the more the class enemy is isolated. In repudiating further the "theory of dying out of class struggle," we should combat both the unprincipled disputes impairing the revolutionary unity and the erroneous ideas and tendencies that eliminate the class struggle.

Historical experience of proletarian dictatorship tells us that "dying out of class struggle" is the theoretical foundation of all kinds of opportunism and revisionism and is the main weapon with which the bourgeoisie attacks the proletariat. All kinds of renegades and scabs from Bernstein and Kautsky to Khrushchev vigorously advocated this fallacy. It is over the vital question of proletarian dictatorship that the "theory of dying out of class struggle," vigorously advocated by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i, rabidly opposes Mao Tsetung thought, benumbs the fighting will of the proletariat and the revolutionary people and covers up his counter-revolutionary activity of usurping the Party and government powers and restoring capitalism.

Great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Socialist society covers a fairly long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle." The great proletarian cultural revolution has won great victories. However, the defeated classes will struggle. International imperialism and social imperialism will carry out sabotage. The bourgeoisie will ceaselessly change its forms of attack on the proletariat.

Are there not people who hold that "revolution has reached its end"? Are there not people who disseminate the view that "all those who should be struggled against have been struck down and all those who should be criticized have been discredited, and we may take things easy"? Are there not people who claim that cadres who settle down in production teams "put off the armor and retire from public life"? Advocates of the erroneous "theory of dying out of class struggle" concoct a theoretical basis, that is, "the principal contradiction has changed". The so-called "change in the

principal contradiction" is a refurbished version of the "conclusion of class struggle" for which Liu Shao-ch'i beat drums more than ten years ago.

"Historical experience merits attention." To stage a comeback and change the political situation, the landlords and the bourgeoisie always advocate the "theory of dying out of class struggle" and do everything possible to cover up their existence on the one hand and sharpen their knives and fiercely attack the proletariat on the other. Where the "theory of dying out of class struggle" finds its market, there the class struggle appallingly takes place behind this veil. The resurgence of the "theory of dying out of class struggle" in some localities is precisely a smokescreen put up by the class enemy in the new situation for the purpose of creating ideological confusion, benumbing the revolutionary masses and attacking the proletariat.

Great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Imperialists and the reactionaries at home will never reconcile themselves to their defeat." When we resolutely implement Chairman Mao's great strategic policy of "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people," carry on with the socialist revolution and triumphantly forge ahead, a handful of counter-revolutionaries always mistakenly assess the situation and dream that the political situation will change. They will certainly find a chance to undermine this great strategic policy of "grasp revolution, stimulate production and promote work and war preparedness" by every conceivable means, to undermine struggle-criticism-transformation and to disrupt revolutionary unity. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Former counter-revolutionaries have been suppressed but some new counter-revolutionaries may emerge. If we are off our guard we shall come to grief." This, too, is what we may not forget. Yet, confronted with attack by the class enemy a few comrades within our revolutionary ranks slacken their revolutionary vigilance. They see "only the red flags fluttering everywhere but not the enemies sharpening their knives" and slacken the class struggle which is the fundamental weapon for continuing the revolution. These comrades must arm themselves with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and must overcome this erroneous thinking.

"The tree wants to keep quiet but the wind does not stop." Class struggle is independent of one's will. The proletariat and the revolutionary people must take Mao Tsetung thought as their weapon to disperse the smoke-screen of "the theory of dying out of class struggle" before they can deal blows at the handful of active counter-revolutionaries who carry out sabotage and before they can seize still greater victories.

Great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must achieve unity of the whole class and the whole nation before we can triumph over the enemy." Strengthening the revolutionary unity is Chairman Mao's consistent, brilliant strategical thinking and great revolutionary practice. Unity means strength and victory. In staging a counter-revolutionary comeback the class enemy always does everything possible to create disputes, factions and splits within the revolutionary ranks and undermine the revolutionary unity. The erroneous tendencies like factionalism, splittism, anarchism, liberalism, and small group mentality found within the Party and the revolutionary ranks

are reflections of the class struggle in society and are completely suited to the needs of the bourgeoisie. In their own interests and in the interests of their small group, quite a few people who are very enthusiastic about unprincipled disputes strive for precedence and mastery, argue endlessly with their comrades, and forget the class struggle and the situation as a whole; some go so far as to set up separate mountain strongholds within the revolutionary ranks and promote "polycentrism, i.e., the theory of no center," completely running counter to the principle that the Party must exercise leadership in everything and that the interests of the Party are above everything else. In doing so, they actually render service to the enemy and some of them even serve as tools of the class enemy in attacking the Party and socialism.

We advocate unity always for the purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The unity we have in mind is revolutionary unity, unity based on Mao Tsetung thought, and is anything but keeping on good terms and giving up the principled struggle. Unity is aimed at waging the class struggle and attacking the class enemy more effectively and is by no means aimed at other things. Some time ago, guided by the "9th Party Congress" banner of unity and victory we conscientiously summed up experience, implemented policies, strengthened unity and correctly handled the two types of contradictions different in character according to Chairman Mao's great teaching--"Unite to win still greater victories." It was entirely correct and great achievements were scored. From now on, we must not mark time; we must go a step further and do a good job. To strengthen revolutionary unity further, we must have a comprehensive and unified understanding of Party's policies and strategies and we must not take an isolated and one-sided view of problems. We must not forget that policies are implemented and unity is strengthened for the purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must not take victory as the reason for slackening revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation with regard to the handful of active counter-revolutionaries. We should learn to view things comprehensively with the one-divides-into-two materialistic dialectics, and overcome the metaphysical methodology. There are those who go to the extreme of either uniting in everything and denying struggle or waging struggle in everything and denying unity. They often shift from one extreme to the other. Whether it is extremely "Leftist" or extremely rightist, it has only one essential thing, that is, running counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and adopting the bourgeois world outlook in observing problems and dealing with revolution. How can this disease be prevented and cured? There is only one way, that is, we should study and apply Mao Tsetung thought in creative ways and on a business-like basis, firmly transform our world outlook, throw ourselves into the storm of class struggle and among the masses and revolutionize ourselves along the proletarian lines.

We must firmly grasp the key link of class struggle and two-line struggle according to Chairman Mao's great teaching. We must constantly watch the new trend of class struggle and promptly expose and combat the sabotage activities of the counter-revolutionaries. We must maintain a high degree of revolutionary vigilance at all times. Class struggle must be advocated every year, every month and every day. The "theory of dying out of class struggle"

must be repudiated every year, every month and every day. We should educate and protect the masses in the course of class struggle, strengthen revolutionary unity, ceaselessly develop the excellent situation in revolution and production, and seize still greater victories.

* * *

Prepare the Hills for Afforestation in the Interest of Revolution

- Investigation report on the Yüfeng Commune in T'ienyang Hsien, Kwangsi -

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, Jan. 30, 1970)

The Yüfeng Commune is mountainous and its farmland covers only 10 percent of its total area. In pre-liberation days the Kuomintang reactionaries carried out counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" many times, killing people and setting houses on fire, in a vain bid to put out the flame of armed revolutionary struggle in this area. They destroyed almost all the vast tracts of natural forests, making many Yüfeng villages desolate. "The hills are without firewood, the creeks have run dry, and drinking water is difficult to get."

After the liberation the poor and lower-middle peasants exercised their power over the mountains and forests. Since the establishment of cooperatives in agriculture, particularly since the great proletarian cultural revolution over the past three years and more, the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants led by the Party have developed multiple undertakings with grain production as the key link and enclosed forest land for afforestation in a big way. By integrating forest nursing and management with the mass afforestation movement, they have vigorously developed forestry. The commune now has 650,000 mow of forest land, the percentage of forest-clad land being up to 76.4 percent. The mountainous area formerly destitute of trees has been transformed into mountain villages rich in forests and forest products. With forest land enclosed for afforestation, the water source built up and soil conserved, favorable conditions have been created for preparing farmland for planting and for enlarging the acreage of multiple crops. Commune output of grain increased from 3,460,000 catties in 1953 (the year prior to the afforestation movement) to 10,030,000 catties in 1969, and the grain-short commune was changed into a grain-surplus commune. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants said: "Much good can come of enclosing the forest land for afforestation. We can have luxuriant forests and abundant grain. We can have the strength to prepare against war and natural disasters."

Bring Politics to the Fore, Grasp the Fundamental

In developing forestry Yüfeng Commune followed Chairman Mao's teaching--"Political work is the lifeblood of all economic work"--persisted in putting the afforestation movement under command of Mao Tsetung thought and did a great deal of work to revolutionize one's mind.

In the course of the afforestation movement a section of the masses and cadres expressed the opinion that compared with agriculture, forestry got only slow returns. They said: "Distant water cannot quench the

immediate thirst." Since they thought in these terms, they carried on destructive lumbering and clearing of forests for land reclamation. To counter this, the Commune led and organized the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary cadres to study Chairman Mao's teaching that "agriculture, forestry and stockbreeding are inter-dependent and none is dispensable." A mass debate was held over the question of "whether it is necessary to enclose the forest land for afforestation." Taking Huachang and Luhui brigades as living material of instruction, they explained the interdependence between agriculture and forestry. In the case of Huachang Brigade, massive clearing of forests for land reclamation resulted in decreasing the vegetation, cutting off the source of water, drying the rivers and farmland and cutting down the grain yield. In the case of Luhui Brigade, persistent efforts to enclose the forest land for afforestation insured constant flow of water to irrigate the field and resulted in rich harvest of grain. As a result of the debate, they came to realize that to cover the barren hills with foliage and develop forestry was the best method of conserving soil and achieving steady, high yield of grain.

The afforestation movement also ran into obstacles in the form of the force of old habits. For example, fallacies like "If we do not set the forests on fire the land cannot become fertile" and "If we do not set the forests on fire, our cattle will get thin and die" were prevalent in society. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants refuted these fallacies by placing facts on the table and reasoning things out. K'unp'ing Brigade was cited as an example. Although it stopped setting forests on fire after start of the afforestation movement, its land remained so fertile and its harvest of grain was rich each year, going up from 390,000 catties in 1961 to 1,180,000 catties in 1969; its draft cattle became fatter and stronger and increased from 180 head in 1961 to 319 head in 1969. These facts strongly refuted the fallacies mentioned above.

A few people mistakenly believed that "trees were too numerous to be cut." They said: "How could sparrows drink up the pond water?" They took no good care of trees when cutting firewood. They fell trees recklessly and cut young trees as carrying-poles when cutting firewood and grain. In view of this, the Commune established further the rights to mountains and forests and taught the masses not to cut trees recklessly. For the benefit of the masses, they also reckoned the "account of carrying-poles." If, for example, each of the 190 families in Huachang Brigade consumed 134 piculs of firewood a year and fell one young tree as carrying-pole for each picul, the brigade would have to fall more than 25,000 young trees a year. It would take at least three years to grow these trees. If these young trees were not cut, much wealth could be added for the State. If this lot of timber were sold to the State, the collective income could be increased by more than 20,000 yuan a year. Having reckoned these accounts, they came to realize that to enclose the forest land for afforestation would benefit both the State and the collective. The masses said this: "The sparrows are small but in course of time can drink up the pond water!" Since then, destructive lumbering was put to a stop. As for the timber required by commune members

for house repair, the problem was solved in the following ways: The demand for timber would be put forward by individual members, discussed by the masses and approved by the leading body, and lumbering would be done in designated areas.

With a view to raising poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres' critical awareness of the need to enclose forest land for afforestation, the brigades and teams regularly organized them to recall past bitterness, think of the present sweetness and review the power now in their hands, and conducted class education among them. Reviewing the bitter old days when they were deprived of rights to mountains and forests, they condemned the most-wicked old society. They talked at length about the happiness now enjoyed by the poor and lower-middle peasants as masters under the leadership of Chairman Mao. In pre-liberation days an old peasant in Lingp'ing Brigade had not a single inch of hill and not a single tree of his own; driven by the landlords from one hill to another, he moved eleven times, exposing himself to hardships and suffering from hunger and cold. He said: "Chairman Mao has rescued us from the bitter sea. We would be forgetting our origin if we did not listen to Chairman Mao and did not enclose the forest land for afforestation." Recalling the past and comparing it with the present, they raised their class consciousness and thought in terms of enclosing the forest land for afforestation.

Further, the Commune grasped the typicals, set examples and regularly held forums and field meetings for living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought. This gave an impetus to the movement for enclosing the forest land for afforestation. 60-year-old lower and middle peasant Ling Hsing-lung of Pat'ao Production Team voluntarily took care of more than 2,000 mow of forest land belonging to the team. A red precious book in his pocket and carrying a sickle, he went to hills to trim tree branches and cut grass, making the trees grow luxuriantly. In 1968 he himself dug holes and planted more than 1,000 fir-trees and opened an anti-fire belt 3 km. long and 20 feet wide in fire-hazard areas. Inspired by this advanced example the masses voluntarily changed the mountain-tops into big classrooms for living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and whipped up a mass movement for enclosing forest land for afforestation in the interest of revolution. In 1967 more than 3,000 people in the commune went to camp on barren hills, carrying with them quotations from Chairman Mao and knapsacks. They launched a campaign for terraced afforestation. In seven days of shock work they planted fir-trees in more than 2,000 mow of land.

Hold Aloft the Red Flag, Stop the Dark Wind

The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres in Yufeng Commune firmly grasped the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the afforestation movement according to Chairman Mao's teaching: "Never forget the class struggle." They crushed the sabotage activity of a handful of class enemies, repudiated the capitalist tendency, and made forestry develop in the socialist direction.

A handful of class enemies never stopped their sabotage activity after start of the afforestation movement in Yufeng Commune. During the time our country ran into temporary economic difficulties, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents in the locality wantonly promoted San-tzu I-pao (三自一包) and "four big freedoms." They made "experiments" in clearing forests for land reclamation, convened "field meetings" and stirred up a capitalist dark wind of clearing forests for land reclamation and promoting individual undertaking.

Seeing through the plot of the class enemy the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants declared: "To clear forests for land reclamation is to ruin socialism. We will never do it!"

To defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and consolidate the socialist position in the countryside, the commune's leading body launched a vigorous socialist education movement in accordance with the "Decision (Draft) of the CCP Central Committee on Several Questions of the Present Rural Work" drawn up under the personal guidance of great leader Chairman Mao. They struck blows at the handful of class enemies and educated the masses.

They also summed up two different typicals: Tsaiwu Production Team persisted in the socialist road and enclosed forest land for afforestation; as a result, production continued to go up. A victim of "Liuist poison," the other team cleared forests for land reclamation; as a result, grain production fell off. A comparison of the two striking instances gave the masses a lifelike education in struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. Some commune members, who had cleared forests for land reclamation, voluntarily planted saplings in the land opened up and turned them over to the collective. They said: "Clearing of forests for land reclamation will do harm to the State, the collective and ourselves. We shall never take this wrong path again."

With a view to protracted afforestation movement, the Commune established organizational machinery and regulations and set up a forest-protection and fire-prevention command post. The brigades set up forest-production and fire-prevention leading groups. The production teams appointed forest guards. Lookout posts were set up on high mountains. Patrol check-up was regularly carried out. Bad characters and bad things were promptly dealt with.

"The class enemies will certainly find a chance to show themselves off. They will not reconcile themselves to national extinction and the Communists." In the great proletarian cultural revolution, a handful of class enemies jumped out to foment disputes over forest land, engaged in timber speculation, carried out destructive lumbering and set forests on fire. They went so far as to clamor: "Return the forests to us. Return teaseed oil to us." They fought back and tried to settle scores with us in a bid to restore capitalism.

In the face of this counter-revolutionary current the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants swung the massive cudgel of Mao Tsetung thought, conducted revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the class enemies. Upon discovery of a rich

peasant who cleared forests for land reclamation, the poor and lower-middle peasants in Shangli Brigade repudiated and struggled against him and ordered him to plant trees in the land opened up. Firmly grasping the class struggle, the whole commune and brigades put out the counter-revolutionary flame fanned by the handful of class enemies.

Integrate Forestry with Grain Production, Continue to Advance

After more than ten years of arduous struggle the poor and lower-middle peasants in Yüfeng Commune initially changed their features of poverty. What should they do after achieving this success? The commune revolutionary committee organized cadres and the masses to study Chairman Mao's teaching over and over again--"The seizure of nation-wide victory is merely the first step in a 10,000-*li* march." They reviewed the circumstances in which the whole commune found it necessary to establish forests. They dwelt on the significance of regenerating withered trees and old trees in getting prepared against war and natural disasters. They criticized the erroneous view that trees were enough to meet the needs and one might "relax a little bit." Both the commune and the brigades drew up plans for covering all the barren hills suitable for afforestation with foliage in three to five years. After the same time, according the State plans they carried out rational and systematic lumbering in timber forests, and promptly regenerated the withered and old trees.

With forestry developed and income from forestry by-products constantly increased, a few people thought in terms of giving up agriculture and developing forestry. They advocated that the production teams should develop forestry instead of growing grain. In the eyes of the commune revolutionary committee, the matter was not simply one of preferring tree-planting to grain production but one of implementing Chairman Mao's great strategic plan of "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people." They meticulously carried out ideological and political work among those production teams who showed this ideological tendency, and publicized over and over again the policy of developing multiple undertakings with grain production as the key link. As a result of propaganda and mass self-education, the consciousness of those who were not willing to grow grain was raised.

In the last three years the Commune prepared more than 3,900 *mow* of land for planting while maintaining the original grain planting acreage. They grew grain from woody plants in a big way, promoted interplanting of forest and field crops, and enlarged the acreage of double rice crops, as a result of which output of grain increased year by year. Proceeding from preparations against war and natural disasters, the poor and lower-middle peasants in Nayeh Production Team formed a forestry specialized team. This team fought a hard battle and nursed more than 500 *mow* of forests; in

addition, they opened up 120 mow of wasteland, planted oil tea trees and interplanted sundry grain. More than 30,000 catties of corn, yam and upland grain was harvested. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Shangli Brigade, in their shock work lasting several days, planted more than 7,000 chestnut trees which are now growing well.

On the basis of the achievements scored the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary cadres in Yüfeng Commune are now determined to hold higher the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought and to grasp revolution and promote production, work and war preparedness. They are vigorously developing agriculture and forestry. They are going a step further to change the outlook of Yüfeng area and are contributing greater strength to the building of socialism on the fatherland.

Joint Fact-Finding Team of: Revolutionary Committee for Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region,

Revolutionary Committee for Paise Administrative District,

Revolutionary Committee for T'ienyang Hsien

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Full of Warmth and "In a Thousand and One Ways"

- Some impressions gained while molding the images of proletarian heroes through music -

by
"Taking the Tiger Mountain by Strategy" Group of
the Peking Opera Troupe of Shanghai

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, January 30, 1970)

In operas on contemporary revolutionary themes, theatrical music (including vocal and instrumental music) covers varous aspects. But the most fundamental task is the creating of images of proletarian heroes. To mold images through music of proletarian heroes by placing the stress on the revelation of the characters' inner world and by the method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism.

This is a brand new subject in the revolution in Peking opera led by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art and under the illumination of Chairman Mao's great policy of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" and of "weeding through the old to bring forth the new."

The appearance of this new subject will inevitably lead to drastic changes in the various aspects of theatrical music such as musical composition and language, and the techniques of song writing in the entire sphere of operatic music.

This article is not an attempt to make an overall summation of the musical creation of the play "Taking the Tiger Mountain by Strategy." It will only discuss a few relatively deep impressions gained in revolutionizing the Peking opera. We shall not repeat what we have covered in our previous two articles.

Fully Develop the Function of Vocal Music in Directly Revealing the Inner World

Singing is an act of rendering literary language directly by the performer in an artistically refined tune. Therefore, it is more capable of revealing the characters' inner world more directly, more clearly and more concisely. Moreover, it is rich in artistic influence on the audience. For this reason, singing is a most important measure for molding the images of proletarian heroes in the theatrical plays.

The above-mentioned effects can be accomplished by coordinating the designing of the tune and the method of singing.

(I) In the designing of vocal music, it is necessary to adhere to the principle of linking breadth with depth.

Complete images of heroes created through music, as a rule, organically embrace many facets. Breadth refers to the completeness and richness of musical arrangement; depth refers to the accuracy and profundity of performance--expression of the various facets. Only by combining breadth with depth is it possible to portray to a high level of the images created through music of heroic characters, complete, noble, sound and touching.

As far as the handling of the breadth is concerned, attention must be paid to the following points:

First, in arranging the music it is necessary first of all to "have a head for figures." We say this because the old operas were arranged in a desultory manner with "patches" here and "stitches" there and with "incongruous dialogs."

That is to say, proceeding from the content and from the characters, and on the basis of the idea of the leading theme and structure of the plot, it is necessary to find out the main links (or "vital points" in daily language) of the various facets of the inner world of the characters, ascertain their inner connections, and thus give overall consideration to and determine what is primary and what is secondary in the arrangement of the singing passages in order to insure the completeness and consistency of the images molded through music. At the same time, it is also necessary to see to it that the various aspects of the image of the principal heroic character are fully described and the image,created through music (rendered in breadth and depth) and musical arrangement insured of richness.

Second, it is imperative to give prominence to essential points. We refer this to the arrangements of the old plays being always made in an "indiscriminate manner" or in a way "dividing the performance among the characters." Chairman Mao has taught us: "The stress of one's attention must be placed on the most important and most decisive issues or actions in the whole area under his command." This is an extremely important instruction. Giving prominence to essential points has a twofold meaning: Prominence must be given to the main part of the aria; on the other hand, prominence must also be given to the main stanza in every part of the aria.

For instance, there are 12 parts of the aria sung by Yang Tzu-jung of which the following four parts contain the essential points:

In the part "and bring the land a new life," the essential point is Yang Tzu-jung's love for the proletariat and his hatred for the bourgeoisie.

In the part "a communist," the essential point is his staunch will to participate in the revolutionary struggle.

In the part "and usher in spring to change the world of men," the essential point is the lofty ideals of the Chinese revolution and world revolution and the bright prospects of revolution. And in the part "I have

the morning sun in my heart," the essential point is that Yang Tzu-jung is boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao and he regards Mao Tsetung thought as the only source of his wisdom and strength.

Of these four parts the most important one is "I have the morning sun in my heart."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has repeatedly emphasized the "complete aria with elaborate passages." That is one of the measures for giving prominence to the main parts of the aria and displaying the depth of musical arrangement. In particular, with regard to the most important part of the aria, the whole stage should be dominated by the singer (that is to say no other performer is allowed to appear on the stage at that time) when he sings the elaborate passages.

In order to meet the aforementioned two requirements, an important measure must be adopted, that is, the song writers and the playwrights must get together to study the literary and musical aspects of the whole play and the arrangement of the secondary and main parts of the aria should be made through discussion. Thus, the shortcomings of contradiction and inconsistency are avoided. Furthermore, the song writers become more aware of the meaning of the literature and do their utmost to bring out the meaning. On the other hand, the playwrights should also make constructive suggestions to improve the music.

As for achieving depth, we hold that the following points must be noted:

First, in working out the melody, efforts must be made to achieve "consistency in three aspects," that is consistency in sentiment, character traits, and time. We make this point because many song writers are likely to copy the "melody" regardless of the spirit of the present era in which the characters live. We followed Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's instruction and worked out a rule in the course of revising the two parts of "I have the morning sun in my heart" and "a communist."

We very often come across such a situation: correct portrayal of the emotions of pleasures, anger, sadness, and happiness generally does not necessarily mean a correct presentation of an individual's characteristics or temperament: a correct presentation of the characteristics or temperament does not necessarily mean the correct reflection of the spirit of the age. In creating a proletarian heroic image through music, correctness in the three respects must be coordinated in order to bring out the proletarian feeling, its distinctive characteristics, and the new revolutionary spirit of the age through the melody. Only in this way can we completely express the lofty inner thoughts and feeling of the heroic images. Adherence to the principle of the "three correctnesses" is the principal measure to achieve depth. This is the most difficult link in the creation of theatrical music, and demands much greater effort from us in setting the tune of the melody. Composers of songs for contemporary plays on revolutionary themes must never "retreat in the face of difficulties." On the contrary, they must "brave the difficulties and advance."

Second, one of the effective means of achieving depth is through appropriate use and coordination of special tones. The reason for this is that if certain things appear repeatedly with due coordination and emphasis, the audience will have a deeper impression of the substance of the act. At present, the coordination of and emphasis on the special tones in singing still presents a new problem. We have tried this method in "taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy" for the purpose of giving prominence to and revealing certain facets. For example, by changing the tone of the melody, we have emphasized Yang Tzu-jung's deep class love. We have used this method six times, such as in the line "their flaming hearts warm my breast" of the "I have the morning sun in my heart" passage, and "oppressed people everywhere have blood account" in the "and bring the land a new life" passage.

Third, in writing the songs, we must choose words carefully in order to describe certain characters in a vivid manner so that these characters can be used as a medium to express their inner thoughts. The stronger the unity of the substance and the form, the greater will be the artistic appeal. In scene 5, the song (Erh Huang Tao Pan) sung by Yang Tsu-jung is an example. The words "sea of trees," "snowy plain," and "spirit" are used in combination with the verbs "go through," "cross," and "soaring," to good advantage in the melody to indicate Yang Tzu-jung's revolutionary heroic spirit of "be resolute, fear no sacrifice, and surmount all difficulties to win victory," and his soul-stirring dignity. Again, in the lines sung by Chang Pao, "when the sun would shine over these mountains," and "my resolve is to fight on the battlefield," the words "snowy" and "high cliff" are used to express Chang Pao's warm class feeling and bravery.

Other examples can also be found in the words "bound to win," "the sun," "the morning sun," "brilliance," and "the flames that blaze," and so forth. This question is usually overlooked by some musical composers and the lyric writers so they fail to take advantage of the opportunity which presents itself. However, we must also be careful not to use this method indiscriminately, lest it degenerate into vulgarism. Furthermore, we must also be careful not to confine our portrayal of characters to the use of lyrics as though we were adding a caption to a picture, because instead of being an end itself, the portrayal of characters through lyrics is but a means of expounding the inner thoughts and feeling of heroes.

Fourth, we must use the method of striking contrasts. In creating vocal music, one of the usual methods for forming striking contrasts is through the melody, the rhythm or time, the tune, and other musical factors. However, how to apply the method of forming contrasts in the creation of heroic images through music is a question deserving serious discussion. The metaphysical method of "contrast merely for the sake of contrast," (that is, the use of this method for the purpose of breaking the monotony, and so forth) is of course improper. However, it is equally wrong to form contrasts in a purposeless and isolated way by using lyrics to express the hidden significance. In our opinion, striking contrasts based on the substance should reveal the different facets of the heroic images. This kind of contrast will express the depth of the various facts of heroic images and, in the course of contrasting, show the characteristics of the characters in their entirety.

Take Li Yung-chi for instance. He is a hero with a straightforward temperament and distinctive features in expressing his class love or hatred. Therefore, in portraying the various facets of his image through music, it is also necessary to contrast him with another character in an even more striking manner. In Scene 7, two songs sung by him--"these soldiers care for our folks," and "here before us our own army!"--illustrated this point. Here we have two different types of contrasts: one of them is expressed in the way he sang his two songs--his contemplative mood in singing the first as contrasted with his outburst of enthusiasm in singing the second. The portrayal of his inner thoughts has given even greater prominence to his later attitude. It depicts how his misunderstanding of the PLA has changed to understanding. His change of mood has eloquently proved that as soon as the Chinese laboring people, with their glorious revolutionary tradition, are enlightened by the CCP through education, they will unleash a tremendous revolutionary force.

Another kind of contrast is formed in the songs themselves. This can be found in the song "these soldiers care for our folks," in which the line "they are kind, considerate, and helpful," is a vivid contrast to the line "soldiers and bandits were always of the same brood." Again, in the song "here before us our own army!" the line "who would have believed an iron tree could blossom," is a vivid contrast to the line "that we would at last live to see this day," immediately following. All this illustrates Li Yung-chi's distinctive characteristics of love and hatred shown to the two different classes, two different societies, and two different armed forces.

In the singing of Yang Tzu-jung, there are many examples of sharp contrasts. In the vocal parts of Scene 3, the sentences "oppressed people everywhere have blood accounts to settle with their oppressors" and "they want vangeance, an eye for an eye and blood for blood" are an example of sharp contrast formed through the variation of tunes, modes, rhythm, tempo, and other elements. This kind of sharp contrast has given great new dimensions to the tones of the melody, and, as a result, has brought out sharply and penetratingly the various facets of Yang Tzu-jung, his class love and class hatred, his revolutionary ideal of liberating all mankind, and his staunch determination in practical struggle, and so forth.

It is necessary to pay attention to dialectics. Things, no matter what, always move toward their own opposites under given conditions. The method of sharp contrast, when used too often, will lead to its own opposite, and result in a flat, uninteresting new situation. For this reason, the method should not be used indiscriminately. It should be used at the "right moments." Moreover, the two contrasting parts must have an inner, organic connection, so that the change will be natural and smooth.

(II) <u>On the method of singing, it is necessary to adhere to the principle of expressing the characters</u>.

The transformation of the method of singing is a very important part in bringing into full play the role of singing to reveal the inner thoughts of the characters. The relationship between the method of singing and the tunes themselves is a dialectical relationship, mutually depending and mutually restricting.

A good tune cannot be performed without good singing methods, good singing methods can enhance the beauty of a tune. Without a good singing method, singing cannot be effective, and the content of a tune can even be distorted. Therefore, to transform the method of singing, it is necessary for the music makers and the performers to constantly and conscientiously study together and find solutions together.

The militant task of creating the images of proletarian heroes through music has brought about a series of requirements in the transformation of singing methods. It has also given rise to a fierce struggle in practice, centering on the question of viewpoints and methods.

The first question is one of starting points--whether the performer, in the handling and method of singing, should aim at expressing the character, or himself, or his particular school? Here lies the fierce struggle between two different concepts of art performances.

In the past, some people, when performing on stage, were entirely preoccupied with how to glorify themselves," show something" that is their specialty, and win applause and "capture the whole house." Others thought only of "my own school" (such as the T'an, Yen, Ma, Ch'i, Mei, Cheng, Shang, Hsun, and other schools), instead of revealing the inner thoughts and feelings of the characters in every possible way through the transformation of singing methods; they stuck to the established rules, and wholeheartedly tried to sing according to "the way of my own school."

The former proceed from themselves, and the latter from their schools, which, in essence, is the same as proceeding from themselves, because their aim is to show themselves by means of their schools. Thus, their methods inevitably become: sing the voice, not the feeling, sing the school, not the character; and express their own interest without creating the images of heroes.

For instance, in a female voice, they have a special inclination, in the prolonged strains at the end or in the middle of a passage, to use the slow tremolo and the flat pitch and so forth; in a man's voice, they like to use the slow tremolo, the slow sliding pitch, and a rapid vibration in intensity; in pronouncing words, they will not discard the old habit of speaking them with a Chungchou, Hunan-Hupeh and Kwangtung accent.

It is not difficult to image that in this way of creating through music the images of the characters, the images so created can only be that of pretty women, refined scholars, and court officials.

Through practice we have become deeply aware of the fact that if the aforementioned old habits, traditions, and rules are not discarded, then it will be impossible to create the images of proletarian heroes through singing music. Therefore, we must consistently follow the principle of knowing the characters before performing. In other words, the performers must bear in mind the characters they play, especially those who play the heroic characters, from the moment they accept the roles up to the moment of their actual performance on stage. Proceeding from this starting point, they will certainly be able to improve their singing techniques.

For instance, since Yang Tzu-jung is a man of valor and wisdom, the singer who plays this role must learn to sing either softly or loudly and he must learn the techniques of staccato and legato in order to give expression to Yang Tzu-jung's traits. Furthermore, the singer must acquire the technique of using his chest cavity to bring out a forceful voice. In this way he can portray Yang Tzu-jung as an unflinching, straightforward, simple, and dignified man, thus arousing the audiences of the new era. Such a singing method is in line with the principles of "making the past serve the present" and "weeding through the old to bring forth the new." For this reason, the new singing method is entirely different from the old one which was designed to praise the emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars, and beauties.

Correctly Develop the Role of Musical Instruments in Giving Expression

Since we all know that the system of instrumental music in Peking opera is mainly composed of "planks," "a set of Chinese violins," and "gongs and drums," this lifeless system, suitable for showing the life of the feudal and exploiting classes, if applied without change to the revolutionary modern plays, will become an invisible shackle restraining the performers from creating the images of proletarian heroes. However, a complete change of this system will definitely bring about a transformation of the art form.

In the revolutionary model plays, we have noticed that the old rules governing the use of musical instruments, (including musical accompaniments and the arrangement of background music) have been replaced by a set of new rules which serve as an important means for creating the images of proletarian heroes. However, this change has created a series of new problems which must be solved as soon as possible. Following are some of the important problems we have experienced in practicing revolution:

(I) Correctly handle the relationship between instrumental music and vocal music. This problem came up during vocal renditions. The role of expression by musical instruments (musical accompaniment) during vocal renditions should not be regarded as more important than that of the vocalists. Instrumental music should always rank second to vocal music and the expression of instrumental music should be aimed at giving proper support to the vocalists. The relationship between instrumental music and vocal music is one of between the guest and the host. Therefore, musical instruments

can only be "the companion" and "the supporter." The guest should never forcibly take the place of the host. Under no circumstances should the instrument players build up a "wall of music" or a "fortress of music" to overcome the vocalists. However, this role of "companion" and "supporter" is by no means negative and passive. On the contrary, it is an active and indispensable role in creating a full-sized image of the hero.

Under the premise of submitting to the expression of contents through singing, the accompanying music should develop its own features and actively and inactively offer his supporting function so as to give prominence to and intensify the expression of contents.

This lively supplement takes place in several forms:

One is to be a new supplement to the main melody of the tone of voice in singing which expresses the content through singing words. In the sentence "disaster struck one snowing night eight years ago" by Chang Po, string music is used to describe the spectacle of wind and snow in addition to the chorus. In the sentence "beautiful our land, majestic and grand" by Shao Chien-po, the accompanying music presents a broad, bright, and majestic sound through string and windpipe and supplements the view as expressed by the lyrics. It further realizes the prescribed condition. In the two sentences of Yang Tzu-jung in Scene 8, "I have the secret report concealed on my person, now at daybreak, pretending to take a stroll, I'll send it out," the accompanying music uses two unique sounds to characterize his seemingly calm, but exciting inner feelings.

Another form is to supplement the prescribed content which the lyrics do not directly suggest. This form is quite common in the accompanying music of the play "Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy." For example, in the accompanying music for Shao Chien-po's lyrics in Scene 4, "the Party Central Committee points the way," the presence of the tune of "The East Is Red" shows clearly that our Party's Central Committee is led by the great leader Chairman Mao. Similarly, in Yang Tzu-jung's sentence in Scene 8 "I have the morning sun in my heart," the employment of the sound of "The East Is Red" shows that it is not a natural sun in this case, but the brilliant Mao Tsetung thought.

In Chang Po's "vulture killed my grandmother and carried off mother and father" and "dear mother!" in Scene 3, the accompanying music supplements the content to a even greater extent. In this place, the accompanying music not only has the feature of supplementing but also uses a low melody to express Chang's bitter emotion and hence depicts the common appeal of Chang and his daughter.

The accompanying music with additional musical material added to the main melody has, of course, its lively supplementing feature. Nevertheless, certain accompanying music with single material also has its definite supplementing function,such as the using a vocal timbre close to the singing in strength and upheaval and intimately supporting it in the method

of chorus (as in Chang Po's "at night we thought of grandmother and mother"). It gives a strong support to the melody of singing and increases the breadth of the sound (note: it is not to increase the loudness of the sound), Thus strengthening the forces expression and influence of art.

(II) The correct handling of the relationship between characters and scenes in the expression of contents by instrumental music.

In theatrical music, instrumental music plays the role of depicting the environmental atmosphere and characterizing a person's inner feelings. These two aspects are always presented simultaneously in combination.

In the course of combining characters and scenes, it is necessary to take the characters as the leading factor and the scenes as the supplementary, and to make the latter serve the former. This is what we call "making use of the scenes to depict the feelings" and "integrating the feelings with the scenes." If we simply describe the scenes, present only things but not the characters, and put forward only the scenes but not the feelings, we will fall into the abyss of perfectionism and formalism.

Take the overture to Scene 5 for instance. There is music to depict wind, snow, and horses as well as to praise the brave and heroic images of Yang Tzu-jung. However, throughout Scene 5, the music praising Yang Tzu-jung is used as the leading factor (that is, the melody played at the beginning is derived and based on Yang Tzu-jung's singing "spirit soaring"). The music to describe the images of running horses can only be regarded as background music to support the major theme, while the music to describe the images of wind and snow plays a less important role to support the major theme. However, the music describing the wind, snow, and horses does not necessarily concentrate on describing the scene. Through the method of "using the scenes to depict the feelings," the music reflects the lofty revolutionary spirit of Yang Tzu-jung.

In dealing with the characters, musical instruments must also emphasize describing the inner feelings of the characters. As from using the method of "giving full play to the major theme" to repeatedly bring forth the traits of the characters, it is also necessary to pay attention to describing the feelings of the heroic characters. For instance, the "music" representing Shao Chien-po appearing after Erh Huang Tao Pan sung by Yang Tzu-jung in Scene 8 and the "music representing the vulture following the sentence "pretending to take a stroll" are wordless descriptions to reflect the feelings of Yang Tzu-jung. The former reflects Yang Tzu-jung's concern about his comrades in arms, while the latter shows his dislike for the vulture.

Why is music describing the waves of red banners and galloping horses played during the transition following "blood for blood" sung by Yang Tzu-jung in Scene 3? This is not to describe the scene, but rather to display Yang Tzu-jung's surging militant feelings at this very moment, to indicate that only by waging a struggle in line with Chairman Mao's great truth "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" can the oppressed people really settle the blood accounts!

(III) On the reformation of the organizational form of the orchestra.

In order to achieve the above-mentioned two points, it is necessary for us not only to abolish the system of instrumental music which is based mainly on "planks," "a set of Chinese violins," and "gongs and drums," but also to thoroughly reform the organizational form of the orchestra. Guided by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's instructions, we, therefore, formed an orchestra employing both Chinese and foreign musical instruments for the first time in the history of Peking opera. The fine points of this organizational form are: Making the play more colorful, increasing the intensity of music, displaying a thorough description, and possessing new national characters.

Attention must be paid to the following points in this aspect:

a) Of all the accompanied musical instruments, prominence must be given to the "three major pieces" of the national musical instruments (Chinese violin, Erh-hu, and moon-shaped guitar); of all the foreign musical instruments, string instruments must be used as the foundation.

b) Arrangements for foreign musical instruments, it is absolutely necessary to avoid becoming "foreign" (lack of national characteristics), "extraordinary" (eccentric, peculiar, haughty, and exulting), "cumbersome (heavy music) and "complex" (complicated arrangements for musical instruments), and strive hard to fulfill the goal of playing the music "in Chinese style and with Chinese traditions that the Chinese people like to hear and to see."

On No Account Should Our Own Creations Be Replaced by Heritage and Examples

Having taken part in the actual practice of creative writing over the past few years, we have gained profound understanding on the principles of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" and "weeding through the old to bring forth the new." We deeply realized that if we do not "weed through the old to bring forth the new," there will be no future for the Peking opera, let alone to serve the socialist economic base.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "We must take over all the fine things in our literary and artistic heritage, critically assimilate whatever is beneficial, and use them as examples when we create works out of the literary and artistic raw materials in the life of the people of our own time and place." Chairman Mao also said: "But taking over legacies and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work, nothing can do that." In the proletarian literary field, to inherit something old and foreign and use them as examples is only a method; to create works in accordance with "the life of the people of our own time and place" is our own target. The life of the people "provides literature and art with an inexhaustible source," whereas the traditions are not a source but a "stream." Although the historical materialists admit that literature and art inherit some national characteristics in the course of its development, yet on no account should we replace the "source" by "stream" and replace our creation by the examples.

However, for a long time the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, T'ien Han, Yang Han-sheng, Ch'i Yen-ming, and their company in literary and art circles stubbornly opposed Chairman Mao's great instructions and went to great pains to promote the "theory of complete heritage" and the "theory that tradition is all-powerful" to advocate the idea of respecting the foreign and restoring the old. The pernicious influence of these theories is very extensive and extremely detrimental. In the musical field of Peking opera, they also put forward some reactionary fallacies such as "taking a step forward without changing the style" and "the name of Peking opera is 'Peking'",the two explicit fallacious views.

In short, "taking a step forward without changing the style" actually means "putting a new label on the same medicine." The so-called "taking a step forward" is to put on a new disguise and create a false phenomenon, while the so-called "without changing the style" is their real target, that is, to maintain the system of emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars, and beauties. Therefore, they are actually out-and-out trash of bourgeois reformism.

The inventor of the theory of "the name of Peking opera is 'Peking'" is the counterrevolutionary revisionist Peng Chen. The "theoretical core" of this fallacy is the so-called "living application of tradition proceeding from life" which obviously is deceptive in nature. Its real purpose is to use the "living application of tradition" to substitute creation and everything else.

These two fallacies appeared to imply "revision" and "transformation," but in essence aimed at doing away with revolutionary criticism and safeguarding the feudal cultural tradition. They used this tradition as a tool to prevent the people from creating in accordance with "the life of the people of our own time and place." Therefore, the so-called "revision" and "transformation" appeared to be brand new means, but in actuality "never depart from their fundamental purpose whatever changes they may make." They never got away from the circle of old tradition. The counterrevolutionary Chao Yang once said: Legacies should be treated like a ceremonial jacket. Although the fashion of the ceremonial jacket has become outmoded, the material is good and would serve the need of the proletariat if its form is slightly changed." These words revealed the secrecy of revisionism! That is, criticism is unnecessary and transformation and absorption are also superfluous. Since "the material is good," there is no need to create new things and all we have to do is merely modify it. This strange theory of "modifying the ceremonial jacket" fully lays bare their political purpose, that is, to maintain and protect the ruling power of the exploiting class on the theatrical stage and to pave the way for a capitalist restoration.

The musical creation of the play "Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy" was made under the brilliant illumination of Mao Tsetung thought, with the direct guidance and participation of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, and through repeated struggles against the above-mentioned reactionary literature and art thinking as well as conservative thinking in its various forms.

The old music of Peking opera serves the purpose of putting the representatives of the feudal class in a dominating position on the theatrical stage. It is rigid in both content and form. Generally speaking, the music in all old Peking operas serves the same purpose of expressing the emotions of pleasures, anger, sadness, and happiness in various degrees. They are only slightly different from each other in such aspects as variation of tunes, schools of arts, and character roles. What will it be if we did not break this convention in creating the images of proletarian heroes through music? "There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution." We cannot really shed light on the new arts of the socialist and proletariat unless we break away from the old traditions and, at the same time, we inherit those parts of the old tradition which are useful to us when properly transformed and absorbed in the course of our endeavor to create the new music based on the "life of the people of our own time and place. The "three breaking-aways" (namely, breaking away from the old way of performing, breaking away from old schools, and breaking away from old styles) based on Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's instructions and the aofre-mentioned principles of "linking breadth with depth" and "three correctnesses" were all established in the course of this struggle. These principles have brought forth a series of attempts to improve the music, form, singing, and method of performing the play "Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy."

Insofar as the music tunes are concerned, we have created many new tunes, for example: the Wa Wa Tiao Fan Erh Huang (娃娃調反二黃) sung in varied tempo by Chang Pao and the new Fan Hsi P'i (反西皮) sung by Yang Tzu-jung in Scene 3; the Erh Huang Tao Pan (二黃導板) sung by Yang Tzu-jung in Scene 5; the Erh Huang Erh Liu (二黃二六) sung alternatively by two characters and the Erh Huang Tou Pan (二黃垛板) sung by Li Yung-chi in Scene 7; the Erh Huang Erh Liu sung by Yang Tzu-jung in Scene 8; and the Wa Wa Tiao Erh Huang sung in varied tempo by Chang Pao in Scene 9.

In addition, the new music shows considerable difference from the old music in the sequence of tempos (that is, the way of switching from one tempo to another). Articularly, worth mentioning is the order in which different tunes are sung. For example, in Scene 5 Erh Huang follows Hsi P'i, and in Scene 3 Fan Erh Huang follows Hsi P'i.

As for melodies and tones, we have made even greater improvement. The passages sung by the various heroes in this play are no longer limited by the rules of any traditional "school" and "character role." Take the singing of Yang Tzu-jung as an example. It sounds like a "Lao Sheng" (老生 older man--Ed.), but it also contains elements of "Wu Sheng" (武生 cavalier), "Hsiao Sheng" (小生 young man), even "Hua Lien" (花臉 painted face). Therefore, it is very hard to tell what "character role"

he plays. Similarly, the singing of Chang Pao is neither "Ch'ing I" (青衣) nor "Hua Tan" (花旦) in character, and neither of the Mei school nor the Cheng school. What "character role" is this? We say it is simply the "person" of Chang Pao herself. To what "school" does it belong? It belongs to no traditional "school." We can say that it belongs to the school of revolution!

As for the transformation of theatrical music, we are, of course, only at the threshold of "weeding through the old to bring forth the new." There are still many new problems which we have to resolve. However, through years of practice in revolutionizing the Peking opera, we have come to a firm conclusion: Chairman Mao's thinking on literature and art has pointed out a very bright future for us. We should hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought and, in a high sense of revolutionary responsibility, emulate the revolutionary will of Yang Tzu-jung as expressed in his singing "Well, I know that there is danger ahead, but I am all the more set on driving forward." Filled with enthusiasm, we should strive to create the images of proletarian heroes. By so doing, we are bound to achieve our goal.

Just as Lu Hsün said: "I firmly believe the bright future will testify to the fact that we are not only the preservers of legacies in literature and art, but also explorers and builders." The great practice of the proletarian literary and art revolution has proved and will continue to prove:

"We should not only be good at destroying the old world but also be good at building a new world."

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Who Remolds Whom?

- Comment on Kairov's "Pedagogics"

by

The Shanghai Revolutionary Mass Criticism Writing Group

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The "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," formulated under Chairman Mao's personal direction, pointed out: "The reform of the old educational system, the old teaching policies and methods--this is a very important task for the great proletarian cultural revolution."

At the present moment, we must continue to grasp this "very important task," pointed out by Chairman Mao.

An important experience of the proletarian educational revolution is that we must persevere in using Mao Tsetung thought to carry revolutionary mass criticism through to the end and wipe out completely the poisons of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist educational line.

Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist educational line has its "theoretical" grounds which are found in "Pedagogics"* edited by Kairov, revisionist educational "authority" in the Soviet Union. According to the explanation given in the first chapter of the 1956 edition, this "Pedagogics" was designed entirely to serve the realization of the "new task put forward by the 20th Congress" of the Soviet revisionists, namely, the "task" of restoring capitalism.

As early as not long after the socialist revolution had begun in our country, Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents Lu Ting-i and others on the cultural and educational front, in order to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line, designated Kairov's "Pedagogics" as teaching material for higher normal colleges and institutes throughout the country. In 1957, they invited Kairov to Peking, Shanghai and many other places of our country to spread poisons. He was personally received by Liu Shao-ch'i. The two had warm "discussions."

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* There are two Chinese editions of Kairov's "Pedagogics," one based on the 1948 Moscow Russian edition and the other based on the 1956 Moscow Russian edition. Hereunder they are called, for short, old and new editions.

In 1958, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students in our country stirred up an upsurge of the educational revolution and rose to criticize, orally and in writing, Kairov's "Pedagogics."

Hurriedly coming out to defend the book, Lu Ting-i shouted hysterically that Kairov's "Pedagogics" "is socialistic," and strangled the vigorous educational revolution.

When defining the law of class struggle during the socialist period, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The proletariat wants to transform the world according to its world outlook, so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of who wins over whom, socialism or capitalism, has not been really settled."

Who remolds whom? Should we transform the bourgeois old schools with Chairman Mao's proletarian educational ideas? Or should we let Kairov's "Pedagogics" dominate our schools? This is a serious struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the educational front. For this reason, for us to analyze and criticize Kairov's "Pedagogics" with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought is necessary for deepening the educational revolution.

Two Basically Antagonistic Educational Views

What is education?

In the first chapter of "Pedagogics," Kairov provides a definition as an answer: "Education is purely a phenomenon of mankind."* This definition completely obliterates a most basic fact: In socialist society education is a phenomenon of class struggle. It absolutely does not mean that "a man, in order to be a man, should receive an appropriate education."* Education is necessary because a certain class wants to maintain its own rule. From the very first education has been dictated by the needs of class struggle and not by the needs of the abstract "man." Education of any class is invariably conducted according to its world outlook and political line; its aim is to transform the younger generation into successors to its rule so as to reach the goal of consolidating its rule.

The proletariat, after having seized political power, must transform education as a tool for the rule of the bourgeoisie into a tool for the destruction of this rule and for entirely eliminating the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. Education must be an important position in which "the proletariat must exercise overall dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the various cultural spheres."

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* Old edition, p. 18.

Proletarian education must cultivate from among the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, laborers with socialist consciousness and culture in order to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and carry through the socialist revolution and socialist construction to the end. This clearcut class nature of proletarian education cannot be obliterated by anyone on any excuse.

But Kairov, flattered by Lu Ting-i as a "socialist" educationist, made the following definition of the nature of education: Education means that "the older generation" "imparts its experience and knowledge to the younger generation."* As a result, for socialist schools "the primary task is to impart to the students the profound and accurate common knowledge developed from nature, society and human thinking."*

Accordingly, Lu Ting-i, like a parrot, observed: "The aim of education is very clear: it is imparting of knowledge, study of knowledge, imparting knowledge to others, and learning knowledge ourselves. Such is education."

Is education nothing more?

Knowledge and the imparting of knowledge are not above classes or above politics. Still less is it, as Kairov said, "equal to all children."**

Knowledge and culture are reflections of social existence. Chairman Mao has taught us in these terms: "Ever since the existence of class society, there have been only two kinds of knowledge in the world: one is the knowledge of production struggle and the other knowledge of class struggle."

All knowledge imparted by education as a tool of class struggle and class dictatorship must necessarily be of a profound class nature. Slave-owners opened schools for their children, in which students were taught how to use slaves as "live targets" for practicing shooting and killing. This was imparting of "knowledge,"--the "knowledge" of slave-owners.

Hitler shouted hysterically that "we will train" fascist elements who "make the world tremble before them." This, too, was imparting of knowledge," namely the fascist "knowledge."

Recently, social-imperialism advertized the need to train a corps of "young cadres" who are capable of "making decisions at critical moments" and who carry out tasks of aggression "without consideration of other elements." This is also imparting of "knowledge," namely, the "knowledge" of social-imperialism.

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* New edition, p. 1 and p. 23.

** Old edition, p. 11.

Kairov's "Pedagogics" was full of descriptions of "explorers and travellers" in the Tsarist era, and "temptingly" "encourages the students to develop their adventuristic spirit."* What kind of "knowledge" is this? Aren't people clear about it? Lenin pointed out: "Old-type schools always say that they aim at producing people with all kinds of knowledge, and that what they teach are sciences in general. We know that this is nothing but a lie." "Every word that is said in such a type of school, is invented in the bourgeois interests." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 31, p. 252.)

Can "imparting of knowledge" be "equal to all children"? Such a revisionist theory of the Lassalle school which advocated "a national education equal to everyone" had been thoroughly criticized by Marx long ago. Since mankind was divided into classes, all exploiting classes which occupied the ruling position had all tightly controlled the monopoly of knowledge, so that the exploited classes which were deprived of power had no right at all to receive an education.

Ancient India, an Oriental slave country, had a law passed that whoever let the lowly Sudras (首陀罗) class receive any cultural knowledge would summarily be sentenced to death.

In ancient China, Confucius, representing the interests of the declining slave-owning aristocracy, energetically trumpeted the obscurantist policy that "the people should be allowed to know something and not to know the cause of it." This obscurantist policy had been pursued by the feudal landlord class for more than two thousand years.

Bourgeois education, which emerged following the appearance of the capitalist relations of production, was completely subordinated to the law of profits which reflected the reactionary nature of the bourgeoisie. The "double-track system" which they promoted was permeated with the nature of the slave-owning and exploiting classes. If you were the children of the bourgeoisie, you would be given the "knowledge" of exploiting and oppressing the laboring people, and you would be trained to be future rulers. If you were children of the laboring people, you would be barred from the schools or you would be trained into "meek slaves" "not only capable of creating profits for their masters but also refraining from doing anything which would disturb the peace of their masters." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 31, p. 252.)

It therefore follows that any remarks which obliterate the class nature of education are politically deceptive indeed. As a matter of fact, Kairov's book "Pedagogics," which was permeated with the bourgeois nature, was in itself an attack of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

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* Old edition, p. 103.

It was this Kairov who in 1957, when trumpeting his "guiding principle" in his "Pedagogics," said: "At present schools have a dual task: one, to promote students into institutions of higher learning, and two, to train students to take part in productive labor."*

The "dual task," as referred to by Kairov, meant the "two kinds of educational systems" advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i, as well as the competition in scaling the "pyramid" as invented by Lu Ting-i: A minority climb up to the top of the pyramid to become new bourgeois elements while the majority are crushed at the bottom of the pyramid, that is, people who engage in "productive labor" under conditions of capitalist restoration.

From Kairov's "education of equality to all" to the "dual task" of education, from Liu Shao-ch'i's "two kinds of educational systems" to Lu Ting-i's competition of scaling the "pyramid," there are many ramifications, but they are all identical by nature: to reach the goal of transforming the proletariat in the bourgeois image and restoring capitalism.

Kairov publicly declared: From the bourgeois educationist K'ua-mei-niu-ssu (夸美纽斯) of Czechoslovakia in the 17th century to the Russian bourgeois educationist Wu-shen-ssu-chi(乌申斯基) in the 19th century, their educational ideas at that time were all "in the position opposite to the principle of rule under the then social system" and as a result, they became the "most precious educational experiences"** which we must take over wholesale at present.

Bourgeois educational ideas produced on the foundation of the capitalist economy were not only "opposed" to the capitalist social system, but were acclaimed as the "most precious educational experiences" for the socialist educational system! This amply demonstrates that Kairov's system of education is essentially no different from the bourgeois traditional education. What such education "opposes" is not the capitalist system but the socialist system.

"Without destruction there would be no construction. Without damming there would be no flow. Without cessation, there would be no movement." The example of Kairov as a teacher by negative tells us: The proletariat must thoroughly criticize the bourgeois educational system and its theory and ideology before it can establish its own educational system. "Education must serve proletarian politics and must be combined with productive labor." "Our educational policy should be to enable one who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually, and physically and become a laborer with socialist consciousness and culture." Proletarian education must draw a clear line of demarcation with the educational ideas of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes on these fundamental questions.

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* See "Academician Kairov on the Guiding Principle and Question of All-round Development in the Newly-edited 'Pedagogics'."

** Old edition, p. 21.

Two Basically Antagonistic Theories of Knowledge

On the basis of his reactionary educational view as mentioned above, Kairov rounded up all the teaching principles of K'ua-mei-niu-ssu, Wu-shen-ssu-ki's theories of moral education, and even the "four-section teaching methods" of the German reactionary educationist Heh-erh-pa-te (赫尔巴特), altered them where necessary, and rigged up his huge teaching "system."

He created the so-called "five teaching principles," the "six classroom links," "five-grade points computation system." Added to these were a host of "elementary rules," "structures," "outlines," "regulations," "tactics," and "methods." Such a typical model of scholastic philosophy was lavishly praised by Lu Ting-i and his associates as a "science." They issued the order that teachers throughout the country observe this system without the slightest deviation.

Is it really a "science"? No. It is, in fact, a fake.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "All work of schools is aimed at changing the students' thinking." The course of teaching is a process of knowledge, and man's knowledge is always stamped with a class coat of arms. So, the course of teaching is a process of struggle between two kinds of ideas, a process of using proletarian ideas to overcome non-proletarian ideas, and a process of gradually setting up the proletarian world outlook of the students in the course of living study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought as well as in the practice of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, production struggle and scientific experiments.

To be correctly implemented, the course of teaching must be guided by a correct theory of knowledge. The proletariat has the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge while the bourgeoisie has the idealistic-metaphysical theory of knowledge. What kind of theory of knowledge does Kairov use as a point of departure for his large heap of "principles" and "methods"?

Having quoted a directive of Lenin concerning the theory of knowledge, Kairov then declared: "Teaching is not, and cannot be, a process which is completely identical with the process of scientific knowledge."* This is tantamount to declaring: The Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge is invalid in the course of teaching.

Thus, having negated by one stroke the Marxist theory of knowledge, Kairov then put forward his own "theory of knowledge":* namely, if only the students "learn what is already known,"* "the 'ready-made' knowledge"*

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* Old edition, p. 60 and p. 96.

"accumulated by man through many centuries,"* then everything will go well. This is because these "are all solid and reliable assets in science,"* and are absolute truths which are eternally unalterable.

By saying such things as "accumulation," "ready-made" and "solid and reliable," Kairov can indeed be proud of being a "capitalist of knowledge"! However, this "capitalist of knowledge" has no historical-materialist knowledge of class struggle at all.

Owing to the reactionary world outlook of the exploiting classes, in those spheres of "knowledge" which they "accumulated," there were plenty of errors of distortion of objective facts.

As far as history is concerned, it was reversed by the exploiting classes: peasants in uprisings in feudal society which propelled history forward were slandered as "robbers" and "bandits" while kings, emperors, generals and ministers were described as masters of history and their "policies of concession" had propelled history forward. If these reactionary viewpoints were not criticized, it would be impossible at all to acquire any "ready-made" scientific historical knowledge. How can we regard all reactionary, fallacious things said by the landlord class and the bourgeoisie "through many centuries" as "solid and reliable assets" which are "ready-made" and can be accepted by us? Aren't they openly encouraging the students to meekly "accept" all spiritual poisons? Isn't this an attempt to train bourgeois slaves who resist all revolutionary truths?

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the absolute process of general development of the universe, the development of each concrete process is relative. As a result, in the river of absolute truth, man's knowledge of concrete process at a certain stage of development has only a relative verity. The sum total of numerous relative truths is the absolute truth.

Even those spheres of "knowledge" which contain certain relative truths must be examined, transformed and developed in the light of the revolutionary practice of the proletariat today, and should not be regarded as eternally unalterable.

So far as natural sciences are concerned, in order to master the latest knowledge at a faster rate, that is, the newly-discovered relative truths at a new stage of development, sometimes it is not only unnecessary to speak of the evolutions "through many centuries," it is permissible to start discussing the latest discoveries, the latest creations of the working class. It should be pointed that one of the reasons for the repetition and complexity in the teaching of textbooks in the past is that we were poisoned by such "solid and reliable assets" of Kairov.

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* New edition, p. 131 and p. 132.

That Kairov solidifies knowledge is due not only to his ignorance but also due to his bourgeois reactionary nature.

The bourgeoisie has long ago been "the sun setting in the west, gasping for breath." They dare not face the violent struggle of the proletariat and the laboring people. They dare not face squarely the revolutionary situation marked by the flying development of class struggle, and struggle for production and scientific experiment. They can only turn their back against the time and look to the past, and regard the traditional ideas of the reactionary, decadent slave-owning class, the landlord class and the bourgeoisie as "solid and reliable" knowledge. They forbid revolution, forbid criticism, and forbid development, and vainly attempt thus to oppose the rapid spread throughout the whole world of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought.

Didn't Lu Ting-i wildly shout that "I take a wait-and-see attitude toward the educational reforms being undertaken in many universities"? Their real purpose of wanting "solid" knowledge was to "solidify" the bourgeois ruling position, to "solidify" their right to squeeze the blood and sweat of the laboring people without limit, or to "solidify" their "assets."

The law governing the Marxist theory of knowledge is this: "Practice, knowledge, practice again, and knowledge again," and "the viewpoint of practice is the first and fundamental viewpoint in the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge."

Kairov, however, declared that he had found his "short cut." This "short cut" was from the books of teachers to the books of students. In his own words, it is the "classroom teaching"* that "determines the quality of students' knowledge," and "the source of knowledge is: the concrete facts themselves, the description of objects, phenomena, the course of events, and incidents, the printing matter (primarily textbooks) and the language of the teachers."*

To use the "printing matter" full of Kairov's "five principles" and "six links," one could at best cram into the students' minds the "classical" textbooks and teaching materials compiled by the bourgeoisie. By using those textbooks and teaching materials compiled in accordance with Kairov's "Pedagogics"--textbooks and teaching materials which were anti-Marxist in world outlook and served the needs of the bourgeoisie in political content--Lu Ting-i and company had entirely departed from the needs of the current socialist revolution and construction. The curricula were full of metaphysics and scholasticism, were isolated from facts, and tore the lively objective world into pieces. Students were confined to the closely-sealed tin-type classroom designed by Kairov, all year round, and were forced to swallow the old millet and mildewed sesame of the 18th and 19th centuries.

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* Old edition, p. 131 and p. 61.

For 16 or 17 years they could not see rice plants, kaoliang, leguminous plants, wheat, maize and millet; they could not see how the workers do their work or how the peasants till their land. They could not see how commodities were exchanged. Wasn't this an attempt to turn them into fools?

It must be clearly stated: We do not refuse to let students receive indirect knowledge from the classroom and books. In the course of teaching and learning, a part of knowledge is indirect knowledge. Chairman Mao points out: "All real knowledge originates from direct experience. But man cannot obtain direct experience in everything. In fact, the greater part of knowledge comes from indirect experience, and this is the knowledge of ancient times or foreign lands."

To be truly grasped by the students, indirect knowledge must be coordinated with revolutionary practice before it can be turned into "real knowledge." "To put ancient things to use now and to put foreign things to use in the Chinese way" and "to weed out the old to let the new emerge," the key is to weed out the old to let the new emerge and to serve the needs of the revolution today.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Many things cannot simply be learned from books; they must be learned from producers, from the workers and from the peasants." This requires us to go out of the school and into the midst of practical struggle, to learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers, "to take learning as the main task and at the same time to learn other things as well, namely, to learn not only the language but also industry, agriculture, and military affairs, and to criticize the bourgeoisie."

Factories must also be established for physics and engineering courses. In liberal arts, the whole society must be turned into a factory.

Some people ask: Can it be that the learning of young children should also proceed in accordance with this law? Aren't they learning from pictorials how to discern "good people" and "bad people"? Naturally, young children must first of all learn to discern some individual and concrete things before they can obtain a concept of certain category of things. Cattle is a big concept, and oxen and buffaloes are small concepts. A particular ox they see is a concrete thing. Before entering schools, young children take the society as a school. They imitate the adults in labor and in combat; in this way, they receive lively education. However, in the past, controlled by the revisionist educational line, the vision of children was restricted, and they too must be transformed.

Kairov's anti-Marxist theories of knowledge directly protect the small handful of bourgeois reactionary educational "authorities" as well as the rule of the bourgeois intellectuals over schools. He vainly attempted to transform the younger generation into bourgeois elements who were afraid of the revolution and of the masses and who resisted the socialist new things so as to facilitate capitalist restoration. To this end, he further declared blatantly:

"Every word and every directive of the teacher" "have the nature of a law";* "all things which are still scientifically debated and which have not been determined should be eliminated from textbooks."**

What school of thought does this "law" belong to? According to this "law," the students become the slaves of the bourgeois education. Their brains are useful for only one thing: to memorize and to recite! Revolutionary students must unite with revolutionary teachers to overthrow such a theory of "dignity of teachers and rules" adhered to by the landlord class and the bourgeoisie. It is impermissible to use the methods for dealing with the enemy to deal with the students. At the same time, we must criticize and discredit the so-called "education on love," and must not let the bourgeois theory of human nature poison our students.

Revolutionary educational work is a glorious piece of work. The labor of revolutionary teachers is also glorious labor. The "theory that teachers are doomed" is a wrong one. Propelled by the proletarian educational revolution, brand new teacher-student relationship is being shaped in many schools of ours. They are comrades and fellow fighters for the revolution. Their relationship is not one between the ruler and the ruled.

Teachers must cherish the students and help the students; they must use Mao Tsetung thought to raise their students' political awareness, fully arouse their students' initiative, activism and creativity, and help their students to enhance their ability to analyze and solve problems.

Students must respect their teachers, resolutely abide by revolutionary discipline and revolutionary order, strive to study hard and in a lively way for the sake of the revolution, and possess an abundance of proletarian revolutionary spirit.

Truth has a class character. In the sphere of social sciences, there have never been "incontroversial" truths shared by all classes. "The socialist system will ultimately replace the capitalist system"--is this objective "uncontroversial" truth in the view of the proletariat and the broad masses of the laboring people "not disputed" by the bourgeoisie?

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought has been developed in the course of struggle and it can only be learned in the course of struggle. The "controversy" opposing the revolution in schools is to oppose the proletarian revolutionary spirit, and oppose the use of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought to criticize and take over those positions controlled by the bourgeoisie.

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* New edition, pp. 150-151.

** Old edition, p. 99.

It can thus be seen that Kairov's real intention is only to allow bourgeois poisonous weeds to grow unchecked, and not to allow the proletarian truths to exist.

"Our basic task is to use our truth to oppose the bourgeois 'truth,' so that people will recognize our truth." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 31, p. 330) All revolutionary students and teachers should use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought to take over all positions, consolidate our country's proletarian dictatorship, and strive for the realization of the proletarian great truth of "wiping out the system of exploitation of man by man from the entire earth so as to achieve emancipation of the entire mankind"!

The Core Is the Bourgeois "Self"

Doesn't Liu Shao-ch'i have the notorious "theory of merging of public and private interests"? As a matter of coincidence, Kairov invented the "theory of turning public interests into private ones": "If understood correctly, public interests are also my personal interests."* Although these two theories are different in name, they are identical in purpose: to "turn" public interests into private interests, to "turn" socialism into capitalism. Both in theory and practice the entire book "Pedagogics" by Kairov proceeds from this "theory of turning public interests into private interests." In peddling Kairov's "Pedagogics," Lu Ting-i and his associates also used this sinister theory as a bait.

Kairov specially stated that among the large heap of principles which he formulated, one was the central principle which "may be extended to all stages and all links in the course of teaching." This principle is the "principle of students' self-awakening and enthusiasm."**

What is this "self-awakening and enthusiasm"? How can we arouse such "self-awakening and enthusiasm" on the part of the students? Kairov supplies the following answer: "The acquisition of marks is a stimulating factor in the life of the students" and is the "exciting agent for study."*** How is it possible to consolidate such "stimulation" and "exciting factor"? When "famous personages in sciences and in arts and outstanding historical figures" "become the ideals of the students," the students "will find the spiritual support from these images."***

The cat is now let out of the bag. The truth is that the so-called "self-awakening and enthusiasm" is aimed at inducing the students to strive hard in accordance with the "specifications" of the representative characters of the bourgeoisie and the landlord class!

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* Kairov's report at the All-Russian Teachers' Congress (July 1960).

** New edition, p. 148.

*** Old edition, p. 209 and p. 248.

Of course, the proletariat has to master scientific knowledge. Lenin once stated: "The laborers are yearning for knowledge because knowledge is necessary if they are to achieve their victory." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 28, p. 70) The proletariat is aware that the victory referred to by Lenin means, among other things, turning themselves into masters of knowledge, and in doing so, they must first of all depend on the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat.

That is why Chairman Mao pointed out: "Young people should place a firm and correct political orientation first." One studies for the sake of the revolution, for the sake of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, and for the sake of continuing the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship.

By vigorously advocating that the students turn their knowledge into their own "wealth," Kairov wanted to turn knowledge into capital with which to win personal fame and wealth, and to sell such knowledge for the best bargain. It is not known how many young people have been poisoned by such a theory described by the feudal class as "learning civil and military arts and selling them to the kings and emperors" and by the bourgeoisie as "one can travel everywhere in the world with the knowledge of mathematics, physics and chemistry"!

Can students in the process of turning knowledge into private property acquire the "complete and dauntless"* "world outlook and moral view"** as Kairov has proclaimed? Nonsense!

Some 2,300 years before Kairov, Socrates, a Greek slave-owning educationalist, had advertized the fallacy that "knowledge is morality." Later, bourgeois philosophers declared that "knowledge is strength."

However, there are absolutely no above-class "world outlook and moral view" in the world, nor is there above-class "strength." For which class did Kairov want to cultivate the "world outlook and moral view"? And for what class did he want to cultivate the reserve "strength"?

Let us look at how he designed the course of shaping up this "world outlook and moral view," namely, the "one-line" educational system: The moment students enter their school, they start climbing upward. They study in a primary school in order to gain admission into a middle school, and to study in a middle school, they set their sight on entering a university. They study in a university because they want to go to an academy to earn the associate doctors' and doctors' degrees. Thus, a very small number of

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* Old edition, p. 56.

** New edition, p. 224.

people, having earned the degrees of associate doctors or doctors, will acquire the qualification to enter the "extremely happy world" of the bourgeois privileged stratum. However, the majority of people, having finished primary school or middle school, become workers or peasants subject to the exploitation and oppression by the bourgeoisie.

Let us examine also the highest standard he set, that is, "inward cultivation"--"outward cultivation"--"all-round development."* This means that from one's "inward cultivation" of acquiring a "social position"** and "personal satisfaction"*** to the "outward cultivation" of "clothing," "hair-do," and "manner",*** one should "develop in an all-round way" into a hypocritic, politician and spiritual aristocrat possessing the so-called "strength" of the bourgeois "moral view."

In the social-imperialist country, aren't the capitalist roaders in power who have "developed in an all-round way" with not only "inward cultivation" but also "outward cultivation" riding roughshod over the laboring people?

What kind of "one line" is this? This is the "line of restoration" creating class division and restoring capitalism! What kind of "all-round development" is it? It is "all-round evolution" from the outside to the inside! The proletarian educational revolution is aimed at chopping off this counter-revolutionary educational line, smashing the bourgeois "peaceful change," cultivating laborers with socialist consciousness and culture in the way Shanghai Machine Tool Plant has done in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, and cultivating communist new people such as the great communist fighter Lei Feng and the model of revolutionary young people, Chin Hsun-hua.

Didn't Kairov repeatedly state that the selection of certain "stimulus" to "stimulate" both teaching and learning" is "necessary for the study of many pedagogical problems"?+ His so-called "stimulus," as far as the students are concerned, means the use of the past "famous" and "outstanding" representative characters of the exploiting classes to "stimulate" one's pursuit of fame and profit as well as a high position of a bourgeois spiritual aristocrat.

For the teachers, it means that "teachers are the personification of everything beautiful and are examples to be emulated"++ in order to "stimulate" the teachers to cultivate the enthusiasm of bourgeois aristocrats,

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* See new edition, p. 314 and p. 21.

** Old edition, p. 302.

*** New edition, p. 223 and p. 315.

\+ New edition, p. 308 and p. 16.

++ New edition, p. 47.

and to confine the teachers to the lifeless house of the bourgeois educational system to resist thought reform. Liu Shao-ch'i, Lu Ting-i and their associates once fully employed such "stimulus" to gather up bourgeois reactionary educational "authorites" and bourgeois intellectuals and to corrupt a section of young teachers and students so as to provide them with an organizational guarantee for pushing their counter-revolutionary revisionist educational and political lines.

The great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution pronounced complete bankruptcy of this set of "stimulus" of Kairov before the broad masses of revolutionary intellectuals.

In the course of the present proletarian educational revolution, revolutionary teachers and students must break with those sets of reactionary "stimulus" of the exploiting classes. They must "fight self and repudiate revisionism." They must transform themselves, according to the outlook of the working class, into fighters who continue the revolution, who "fear neither hardship nor death" under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and who dedicate their lives to the struggle for the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and the prevention of capitalist restoration.

Historical Experiences That Merit Attention

Kairov has a trump card: I am an opponent of the bourgeois "modern education." True, Kairov, who styles himself as one who inherits the bourgeois "traditional education," naturally "opposes" Dewey, the representative character of the bourgeois "modern education" and a scholar in the employ of US imperialism. However, no matter whether it is the adherents of "traditional education" who emphasize "imparting of knowledge" or the adherents of "modern education" who stress "training of skills," this merely reflects a controversy within the bourgeoisie. In the last analysis, they work for the training of bourgeois successors and for the protection or restoration of capitalism.

As a matter of fact, following the spread on a worldwide scale of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung, followers of all schools of thought in reactionary education within the bourgeoisie are now joining hands to jointly oppose the proletariat. Upon a careful examination, can one find any differences between Kairov's so-called theory of seeds of children's knowledge* and theory that education "means organizing children's life" on the one hand and the theories of "children's centralism" and "education means life" in Dewey's pragmatist education?

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* Kairov: "Question of Improving and Raising the Quality of Education in Ordinary Schools in the Soviet Union."

Lu Ting-i, letting the cat out of the bag, said: Kairov's "Pedagogics" has "an advantage in that he replaces Dewey." And it is because of this that the pack of disciples of Dewey in China in those years, under the wing of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist educational line, transformed themselves overnight into so-called "experts" of Kairov's "Pedagogics." Some of them occupied the leading positions in educational departments. Others were scattered in various parts of the country to practice deception. What a thought-provoking phenomenon of class struggle!

Especially noteworthy is the fact that in the early 1960's, Kennedy, chieftain of US imperialism, was forced by the fact that Dewey's pragmatist education had long ago lost its deceptive effects among the progressive youths in the United States, to put forward hurriedly the "fine standards" for the pursuit of knowledge and formally seek the help of "traditional education."

In the same period, Kairov and his like, under cover of "strengthening the relation of schools with life," further surrendered to Dewey's pragmatist education. No wonder that Western bourgeois press also took the view that the two schools of thought had "merged with one another" and "are advancing on the same track." Ultimately revisionism will form a reactionary alliance with imperialism. This is the case not only politically but also in the ideological and cultural spheres.

The so-called "system" of Kairov is fallacious. However, the problems which we see through such a "system" are serious: After the proletariat has seized political power, how the bourgeoisie try to recapture power from the proletariat through the cultural spheres such as education and to practice anew suppression of and rule over the proletariat. This historical experience of struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat--the struggle restoration and counter-restoration--deserves our serious attention.

Through three years of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we have, under the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy, striven to raise the massive cudgel of Mao Tsetung thought and struck down the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents in the educational realm.

In the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao in time published a programmatic directive: "The period of schooling must be shortened, education must be reformed, and the proletarian politics must assume command. It is necessary to follow the road of the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant in training technicians. Students must be selected from among the workers and peasants with practical experiences; after several years in school, they must return to the practice of production."

Under the encouragement of this glorious directive of Chairman Mao, an upsurge of the proletarian educational revolution is arising in all parts of the country. An educational system which serves the proletarian politics and is closely related to the practice of three great revolutionary struggles, as well as a contingent of teachers who are determined to struggle for the realization of the proletarian educational revolution, are being gradually set up.

However, the class struggle on the educational front is still continuing. The struggle between the proletarian and the bourgeoisie for winning over the youth is still continuing. We must see clearly that there is still a great deal of work to be done for the unfolding of revolutionary mass criticism on the educational front. Only by penetratingly criticizing the bourgeois world outlook can we carry out a thorough reform of the old educational system, teaching policies and methods and can we solidly establish the new proletarian educational system on the foundation of Mao Tsetung thought. Let's raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought and greet the advent of a new upsurge of the proletarian educational revolution!

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Class Struggle in the Field of Socialist Construction and Economics

- Criticizing the Revisionist Economic Theory of Sun Yeh-fang

by

The Writing Group of the Kirin Provincial Revolutionary Committee

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, Jan. 30, 1970)

The struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines in the economic field continues in depth. Using Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for building socialism to criticize and repudiate the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line will not only provide us with a new driving force to speed up the development of the new upsurge in our country's socialist construction in the light of Mao Tsetung thought; it also constitutes an important measure for striking at the handful of class enemies undermining the socialist ownership and for consolidating as well as developing the socialist economic base.

Sun Yeh-fang, counter-revolutionary element and former director of Institute of Economics of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, is a representative of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the economic field.

Sun Yeh-fang once vainly tried to apply, unaltered, all of Khrushchev's methods of restoring capitalist economy in China, so as to establish a revisionist "political economy system," provide an "ideological" foundation for Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, undermine the socialist construction, and overthrow the proletarian dictatorship. By criticizing and repudiating this revisionist economic theory today, striking at counter-revolutionary economism and other evil capitalist trends, and eliminating the "pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i" and Sun Yeh-fang's revisionist "economics," we will be able to learn a good lesson by negative examples. By criticizing and repudiating these negative examples, we should be able to firmly hoist the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought in each and every position of the economic field.

A Prescription for "Running the Economy with Economic Methods"

In order to restore capitalism, the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i had long done everything in his power to oppose Chairman Mao's great instruction "political work is the life-blood of all economic work" in building socialism. Advocating the idea of running the economy with economic methods, Liu Shao-ch'i asserted that "in building factories our

country aims at making money; if we do not make money from the factories, we shall build no factories at all." He also clamored that "we should do everything which is profitable." In response to these fallacies, Sun Yeh-fang said: "This a far-reaching question, and I completely support it. I have always insisted on running the economy with economic methods."

There were also international developments which motivated Sun Yeh-fang to dish out his "economics." In 1956 when the flood gates of modern revisionism were opened by the Khrushchev renegade clique, Sun Yeh-fang visited the "Holy land" on several occasions to "pay homage" and received "supreme enlightenment." He wrote one article after another and made countless speeches, conducting what he called "reports on internal research" one after another. He shamelessly declared that his "basic views" were picked from the modern revisionists.

In 1962 after Efsei Liberman, a writer in the pay of social-imperialism, dished out his article "Plans, Profits, and Rewards," a big poisonous weed with "putting profit in command" as its core, Sun Yeh-fang cried out: "I would rather 'take some risks' 'personally step forward,' and be 'more thoroughgoing than Liberman.'"

What are these "basic views" which Sun Yeh-fang got from the modern revisionists?

1) He advocated the idea that economic plans should be based on profit. He asserted that "of all the laws, the law of value is primary," (1) that it is necessary to "base plans on the law of value." (2)

2) He promoted the idea that profit is the target. He declared: "I have my doubts about the so-called assertion that 'production in the capitalist society aims at making profits and that socialism does not aim at making profits, but only goes after value in use.'"(3) He also declared: "Increasing labor productivity and improving technology both aim at the target of making profit."(4)

3) He promoted the idea that profit is a driving force. He asserted that profit "is capable of stimulating the management of enterprises"(5) and that "so long as we keep a firm grip on profits, it is just like leading a bull by its nose; in this way, the legs of the bull (other quotas) will naturally follow along. Otherwise, we will have to carry the bull."(6)

4) He advocated the idea that profit is the center. He insisted on "taking profits as the central target of planning and statistics"(7) and pointed out that "with regard to enterprises, all the state should do is to grasp only one single quota--that of value (the profit quota); it is unnecessary for the state to worry about other quotas, for the enterprises can take care of them by themselves."(8)

5) He clamored that profit is the only criterion of the worth of a given enterprise. He asserted that total profits gained should be regarded as the most sensitive indicator of improvements in technology and successful

management of the enterprises."(9) He also added that "the rates of profit on capital and commodity prices are needed in socialist economy"(10) and that "the rate of profit on the average social capital must be attained by each and every enterprise; those surpassing this rate of profit are advanced enterprises, while those failing to reach this level are lagging behind."(11)

In short, as far as Sun Yeh-fang is concerned, drafting plans and developing the economy are aimed at making money; building factories and running enterprises are also aimed at making money. Sun Yeh-fang also advocated that if all economic activities were governed by profits, the enterprises would make progress, technology would improve, and the society would advance. In point of fact, Sun Yeh-fang's "economics" which is seemingly very mysterious, is actually a child's peep-show to deceive the people.

Everything is dedicated to making money and "doing everything which is profitable"--this is the essential characteristic of the capitalist society. Marx said: "The very mission of bourgeois society is to make money" and "the absolute law of this style of production is to produce surplus value and make money." Set everything in motion by making money; money means vitality; the more money earned, the greater the vitality will be; in order to make money, it is necessary to exploit, plunder, and launch aggressive wars--these are the essential elements of the bourgeoisie. Engels said: "It is the bourgeois viewpoint that there is not a single thing on earth which does not exist for the sake of money, including the bourgeois elements themselves, because they live for the purpose of making money. Aside from making a quick fortune, they are unaware of any other kind of happiness."

Sun Yeh-fang's "political economy system" was compiled on the basis of the bourgeois world outlook mentioned above.

Using monetary incentives as a panacea and not knowing what to do without money clearly reflects the decayed and backward spiritual world of the modern revisionists, China's Khrushchev Liu Shao-ch'i and his bugleman Sun Yeh-fang and their poor knowledge of economy.

After the seizure of political power by the proletariat the question of whether to put politics in command or to "use economic methods to run the economy" and whether to have proletarian politics in command or to "put profits in command" represent two diametrically opposed lines in economic construction. In leading us in carrying out socialist construction, Chairman Mao has always placed proletarian politics above everything else. Putting politics in command of economy, grasping revolution, and promoting production represent a Marxist-Leninist line for consolidating and developing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Khrushchev of the Soviet Union, Liu Shao-ch'i, China's Khrushchev, Liberman, and Sun Yeh-fang have unanimously advocated the idea of "running the economy with economic methods" and putting "profits in command." In doing this, they have actually put bourgeois politics in command and have used bourgeois politics to disintegrate the socialist economic base. This is an out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist line which aims at restoring capitalism.

Although Sun Yeh-fang has put a "socialist" sign over his "economics," it is impossible for him to cover up the reactionary essence of his "theory of putting profits in command." In other words, he attempted to oppose putting proletarian politics in command by advocating the idea of "putting profits in command" in a hopeless bid to change from a system of unified socialist ownership by the whole people into one of many independent realms and to convert every enterprise owned by all the people into enterprises under bourgeois ownership. According to his counter-revolutionary views, this means "opening up" the "sacred area of relations connected with ownership of the whole people."(12) We would like to expose the essential elements of his theory from the following aspects:

Socialist Planned Economy Vs. Capitalist Free Economy

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "Mankind as a whole has undertaken development for hundreds of thousands of years; China has only now attained the precondition for planned development of its own economy and culture. Since we have attained this precondition, there should be changes in the outlook of our country year after year."

One of the characteristics of socialism is that it develops the national economy proportionally and systematically; this is also an important index of socialism's superiority to capitalism. Sun Yeh-fang, proceeding from the destruction of a planned economy, vainly attempted to disintegrate the unified socialist ownership of the whole people.

According to what he called his "basic views," "profits should be regarded as the center of plans and statistics" and "the plans should be formed on the basis of the law of value." What does this mean? It means that in mapping out plans, the state and enterprises should proceed from "value" and "profits." In a word, it is necessary to proceed from making money; Liu Shao-ch'i also said "Do everything which is profitable" and that the state should map out a big plan to make money, while the enterprises should work out small plans to make money. According to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, politics is the reflection of economy in a concentrated way, whereas plans are subordinate to politics. There are socialist plans and revisionist plans; the basic distinction between them rests on which political class they serve.

Ours is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must, through decades of hard struggle and on a poor and blank foundation, build a great socialist state with a modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defenses, and a modern science and culture and build a consolidated base for proletarian world revolution.

The national economic planning of our country must serve the proletariat--this is our great political objective; it must proceed from the needs of external and internal class struggle in every period and the needs of socialist construction in our country. In drawing up a plan, we must always act in accordance with Chairman Mao's series of policies such as the

general line of "going all out, aiming high, and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism"; "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people"; "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts"; and "taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor." The needs for being prepared against war, being prepared against natural disasters, and for doing everything for the people must be our basic point of departure in drawing up a plan and tackling a problem.

At present, in the face of the threat of a war of aggression which might be launched by US imperialism and social-imperialism, there is special importance in further implementing Chairman Mao's great policy "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people."

If "our plan is based on the law of value," as far as the state is concerned, it is impossible for unprofitable national defense industries to develop; it is impossible to establish heavy and inland industries; it is also impossible for districts, provinces, and municipalities to build industrial systems under different conditions proceeding from the viewpoint of war preparedness; it is impossible to develop those industries of low production value, which make little profits on a temporary basis, for supporting agriculture; it is impossible for the state to run and develop certain categories of daily necessities which the people are needed as subsidy within a certain period of time; and it is impossible, in accordance with the proletarian spirit of internationalism, to produce products needed by the struggle of the revolutionary people of the world.

In short, Sun Yeh-fang wanted us to abandon the great task of building a strong socialist state and to deviate from the victorious path indicated by Chairman Mao. Such a revisionist "plan" is exactly what is needed by Liu Shao-ch'i to restore capitalism and to lead us back onto the old, semi-feudal and semi-colonial road, a plan which will lead to the annihilation of our Party and state.

The law of value and commodities exists in a socialist society. We use the law of value as a tool in planning work and economic accounting. But, we resolutely oppose making the law of value the basis for regulating production and for mapping out a plan. The modern revisionists have a common goal in the restoration of capitalism in the economic field, and they try their utmost to exaggerate the theory of the law of value and to promote the use of this law to regulate and control all social production. In this way, economic construction is shifted from the socialist path of putting proletarian politics in command to the capitalist path of putting "profits in command."

"The rule of value is in fact another point of view of the general line."(13) "Of all the laws the law of value comes first." These absurdities advanced by Sun Yeh-fang are used to justify "basing our plan on the law of value" and to justify using the law of value to regulate all social production peddled by him. This is a most shameful and most vicious distortion of the Party's general line for socialist construction.

Basing our plan on the law of value and planning in accordance with the general line constitute two lines of construction which are diametrically opposed to each other. The Party's general line for socialist construction personally formulated by Chairman Mao is the Marxist-Leninists line for arousing the enthusiasm of hundreds of millions of people for building socialism, serves as the revolutionary line for competing with imperialism and social-imperialism with regard to the time factor and speed of development, and constitutes the means for the proletariat to thoroughly defeat the bourgeoisie and all class enemies.

"Of all the important things Chairman Mao's revolutionary line must come first." This is the conclusion reached by the broad revolutionary masses from their historical experience. Sun Yeh-fang's absurdities have fully exposed his reactionary nature of being hostile to the great Mao Tsetung thought and exposed his ugly features of attempting to lead socialist construction into the counter-revolutionary revisionist orbit.

Sun Yeh-fang attacked our country's socialist plan which is subordinate to proletarian politics by saying that the plan "is over-controlled and has no flexibility." Pleading for the enterprises, he demanded power from the state by clamoring that "the state should pay attention only to the value quota (profit quotas) of an enterprise" and that "the state should give free rein to an enterprise in other respects and let it be its own master in operation."

What do these "other respects" indicate? First of all they mean the abolition of the political orientation by which enterprises are controlled by the proletarian state. As for what kind of products can be produced by an enterprise and the way to handle these products, the state should leave the enterprise alone. Moreover, the enterprise can have "free transactions and fixed capital."(14) It is obvious that he wanted the enterprises to depart from the state's centralized and unified leadership and to proclaim their independence for governing themselves.

Sun Yeh-fang wanted the state to "grasp only the profit quotas" in regard to enterprises. This will completely turn the original socialist relationship of enterprises of the proletariat state into an indifferent capitalist relationship of monetary transaction, and the whole system of socialist ownership by the whole people will immediately disintegrate. Anarchism in competition and production will become rampant and harmful, and the socialist planned economy will become a capitalist free economy. Sun Yeh-fang has been thinking night and day to bring about such as change. By clamoring that the planning system "is inferior to the free economy,"(15) Sun Yeh-fang himself has exposed his own ambition.

Chairman Mao said: "It is impossible to have a high level of centralism without a high level of democracy. And it is impossible to build socialist economy without a high level of centralism."

All the enterprises under the system of the ownership by the whole people have only one owner. This is the state of the proletarian dictatorship under the leadership of the Party. Only this state can represent the basic interests of the working class and only the broad masses of the laboring people can decide the political orientation of the enterprises, decide the enterprises' orientation for development, decide the products and the distribution of products, and decide the management of the capital of enterprises. The exercising of the system of democratic centralism over the enterprises by the state through the practice of the state holding the supreme authority, the delegation of lesser authority, the practice of centralized leadership, and the distribution of managerial talent to the different levels of enterprises--all these are needed to consolidate the economy of the whole people as well as to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship.

The Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as the leader and Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy leader is the sole center of leadership of the whole Party, the whole army, and the whole nation. Resolutely implementing the national economic plan approved by the Party Central Committee will basically insure the rapid development of our country's socialist construction. It is a manifestation of anarchism to neglect the state's unified plan; to one-sidedly proceed from the needs of one's own department, area, and enterprise; to use the planned materials and funds to undertake capital construction not included in the plan; to not implement the Party's unified policy, spending the wealth of the state freely for the interest of a few; and to change the direction of production at will without considering the interests of the state. This will certainly result in scattering our strength and in undermining socialist construction. This is what the class enemies need.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "It is necessary to overcome the evil phenomena such as each going his own way, the assertion of independence and the disunity within the organs of economic and political work, and to establish a unified working system which can be commanded easily and which can fully implement policies and principles." Every enterprise must coordinate all the activities of the nation as in a chess game and have the whole situation in view. With great insight and mindful of the whole situation and the interests of the people, it must resolutely and firmly rally around the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as the leader and Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy leader and "achieve unified thinking, policies, plans, command, and actions" on the basis of Mao Tsetung thought, fulfill and overfulfill the state plan in an all-round manner, and build socialism by achieving greater, faster, better, and more economic results.

Whether to Run Enterprises by Relying on Putting Proletarian Politics in Command or by Relying on "Putting Profits in Command"

After the establishment of the system of ownership by the whole people, the line followed in the management of enterprises is an important question concerning whether the proletarian firmly grasp the power of the leadership of enterprises and can consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie who has lost the means of production will invariably

try to open a breach in the management of enterprises and break down the system of ownership by the whole people in order to restore capitalism. Proceeding from his counter-revolutionary sentiments, Sun Yeh-fang raised a hue and cry on this question.

Sun Yeh-fang said: "The amount of profit should be the most sensitive indicator of the technical progress of an enterprise and the quality of management of an enterprise." He said that "profits can give impetus to enterprise management." This is an out-and-out capitalist view on running enterprises.

The sole objective of a capitalist enterprise is to make the greatest profit by investing as little as possible. Hence, the amount of profit earned is the only standard for determining the success of a capitalist enterprise.

Can the capitalist method of "putting profits in command" "give impetus to enterprise management?" The result will be the opposite. As far as management is concerned, things will go from bad to worse. Once we put profits in command, we will replace the noble ideal of doing everything for the revolution with counter-revolutionary economism, wilfully changing the orientation of our enterprises. We will only work hard when we see that there are huge profits to be gained, work less enthusiastically when we see that there are little profits to be gained, and will not work at all when we see that there are no profits to be gained; we will replace communist cooperation among enterprises with capitalist practices of deception and of putting the blame on others; we will use "material incentives" to corrupt people's souls, break down their revolutionary will, and change the socialist relationships among the enterprises into relationships of money and employment.

In short, the more you promote "putting profits in command," the farther you stray from the socialist orientation. This will cause the enterprises to break down, and the proletarian positions will become the pillars of revisionism. This is the objective law governing class struggle which is independent of man's will.

The countries dominated by modern revisionism are "living examples" of using profits "to give impetus to enterprise management." This is what Sun Yeh-fang has been longing for. "In crossing the sea, each of the eight immortals displayed his magic power." Working in collusion, the "eight immortals"--the capitalist-roaders, capitalists, speculators, the sinister contractors, the new well-to-do peasants, those who have committed the crime of corruption, swindlers, and embezzlers--are running rampant. From cities to rural areas, from production to marketing, from economic departments to government offices, the capitalist forces are running rampant, indulging in speculation, stockpiling, raising commodity prices, and swindling. Working hand in glove, the capitalist-roaders within enterprises and government organs practice embezzlement and engage in corruption; it has become a common

practice among them to divide the loot among themselves. As a result, the socialist ownership by the whole people has degenerated into an ownership by the privileged class which is manipulated by a handful of capitalist-roaders and the newly emerged bourgeois elements; the national economy is in a state of wild confusion, and the laboring people are once again falling into the abyss of suffering; and the socialist achievements won by the proletariat at the cost of their own blood have been wasted. This is a shocking historical lesson.

"Historical experience merits our attention." To "put profits in command" is by no means to "propel the management of enterprises" as asserted by Sun Yeh-fang. Rather, it is to push the enterprises to "move" in a direction away from socialism, causing socialist ownership by the whole people to exist in name only.

Socialist enterprises are a front of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment. The first thing the proletariat considers in judging whether an enterprise is good or bad is politics. That is, to see whether the enterprise holds high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, whether its leadership is in the hands of real Marxists, and whether it is conscientiously carrying through Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, principle, and policies; to see whether the enterprise is doing well in revolutionizing the people's thinking to bring up and build a revolutionized industrial contingent; and to see whether the enterprise is doing its work well while taking the whole situation into consideration, and fulfilling the production tasks assigned it by the Party and state in an all-round way and with greater, faster, better, and more economical results, so as to contribute its share to socialism.

It is not on the strength of "putting profits in command" and "material incentives" that we run our enterprises. Rather, it is on the strength of putting proletarian politics in command and on the strength of the fundamental law of the proletariat in running enterprises--the great "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Works."

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Management is also a social education." In running an enterprise, the proletariat concerns itself first with politics; with the struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines; with the ideological revolutionization of the leading group; and with carrying out education in Mao Tsetung thought among the workers, cadres, and technicians so as to turn the enterprise into a great red school of Mao Tsetung thought. It is true that the managements of production, planning, technology, finance, labor, and so on should also be conscientiously grasped. However, we cannot manage well unless we give proletarian politics prominence, mobilize the masses, learn to master ideological and political work, and act in accordance with the Party's policies.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Ideological work and political work are the guarantee of economic work and technical work. They are to serve the economic base. Ideology and politics are at once the supreme commander and the soul. If we slacken just a little in our ideological work and political work, the economic work and technical work inevitably will go astray." If we give prominence to proletarian politics, launch the mass movement for the creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, and realize the revolutionization of the people's thinking, we will be able to persist in the correct political orientation and exert our vigorous revolutionary efforts to the utmost, and the reservoir of socialist enthusiasm and initiative of the masses will burst open with the force of a volcano to give a powerful impetus to the development of production. This is the fundamental line in which we must forever persist.

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself has cleared away the obstacles to the advancement of the proletariat in running the factories and all other economic enterprises. The great "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Works" that was long barred by Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk, has been grasped directly by the broad revolutionary masses, and has generated, and is generating, a force whose magnitude challenges man's imagination.

On the strength of the strong East wind of Mao Tsetung thought brought about by the great proletarian cultural revolution, those enterprises with "long-standing, big, and difficult problems" which lost their orientation under the evil influence of "putting profits in command" and "material incentives" have transformed themselves overnight into advanced enterprises full of vigor and vitality. Those baffling technological problems which long went unsolved under the capitalist-roaders who resorted to the methods of "putting profits in command" and "material incentives" have been overcome one after another by the heroic working class who "cherishes the rising sun." Thousands upon thousands of enterprises are being run with increasingly better results along the course of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and are making greater and greater contributions to socialism. As long as we always persist in putting proletarian politics in command, strengthen the management of enterprises, and do our work meticulously, we definitely will win even more splendid victories.

Draw a Clear Demarcation Line Between Increasing Production and Practicing Economy and "Putting Profits in Command"

At present, there is a trend in the class struggle on the economic front which deserves our attention. A handful of persons who in the past made special efforts to "put profits in command," have seen this theory become rotton, and have changed their tactics and are deliberately distorting and opposing the economic accounting of enterprises and undermining the operation and management of enterprises on the pretext of criticizing the theory of "putting profits in command." The purpose of the class enemies in creating such confusion is to reap some profit and pocket the economic achievements of the workers and peasants who have toiled hard for socialism, and to vainly attempt to undermine the socialist base and usurp the financial power of the proletariat. To strike at this evil trend is part of the content

of giving prominence to proletarian politics at the present moment on the economic front.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Corruption and waste are very great crimes." "Any socialist economic enterprise must pay attention to using the manpower and equipment to the fullest extent possible, and to making the best possible effort to improve labor organizations, improve operation and management, raise labor productivity, save all human and material resources that can be saved, enforce emulation among the workers, and carry out economic accounting in order to gradually lower costs, increase personal income, and increase accumulation every year."

It is at best a foolish idea to think that "cost calculation is putting profits in command." The essence of the theory of "putting profits in command" is its opposition to putting proletarian politics in command and is a restoration of capitalism. We resolutely oppose this idea. We will persevere in putting proletarian politics in command. However, we must never think that to put proletarian politics in command means that we can do without economic work, economic accounting, cost reduction, and increased accumulation. If we think so we will fall victim to the cunning scheme of the class enemies.

The profits of enterprises are an important source of revenue for a socialist country. The receipts (profits, taxes, and so on) from the state-owned economy amount to about 90 percent of the budgeted national revenue of our country. If the enterprises fail to fulfill the plan of turning in their profits and taxes on schedule and in full, or even create losses that they should not, national revenue and the planned socialist construction will be affected.

In managing enterprises, we must give prominence to proletarian politics, and mobilize the broad masses of workers to vigorously grasp revolution, energetically promote production, launch the movement of increasing production and practicing economy, and "save every copper for the war effort, for the revolutionary cause, and for our economic construction." We must oppose the phenomenon of a lack of seriousness in the management of production and finance, and oppose the wrong tendency of indifference to state properties and of extravagance and waste under the pretext of "though the meat is rotton, it is still in the pot." We must establish the new socialist practice of "practicing economy is honor, engaging in waste is shame" in managing finance as the masters of our country, and hold financial power well in order to build up the accumulation as much as possible and accelerate socialist construction.

Just as the theory of "study is useless" is another version of the theory "to study in order to become an official" spread in the cultural and educational spheres, the attitude of "paying no regard to cost" is actually another manifestation of the theory of "putting profits in command." That is, to vainly attempt to turn the state's properties into those of an individual or small group depicts an attitude of showing no concern for the state's accumulation, but having great interest in stirring up the evil wind of economism. Wherever we find this tendency emerging, we should criticize and clarify it with revolutionary mass criticism.

Laying Bare a "Secret"

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The revisionists obliterate the distinction between socialism and capitalism, and between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What they advocate actually is not the socialist line but the capitalist line." The reactionary economics dished up by Sun Yeh-fang embodies this tactic which revisionism is prone to use.

Sun Yeh-fang's reactionary economics proceeded from his search for the so-called "something of common nature" between capitalism and socialism. In an ulterior way he stated: "In the socialist society, we have, while casting away the special law of capitalist economy, negated such things as even the general and common nature of economic law at the same time...."(16) The so-called "something of common nature" found by Sun Yeh-fang after racking his brains were simply value and law of value. It was on this basis that he established his "system of political economy" whose essence was "putting profits in command."

Sun Yeh-fang proudly claimed that he had found "the secret of all economic problems." He said: "The difference that separates man from the animal world is that animals live only on the alms of Nature while man lives by his own labor, by conquering Nature. How well one lives depends only on the efficiency of his labor. In other words, it depends on the degree to which man has conquered Nature. Therefore, the secret of all economic problems is how to produce still more products with still less labor.(17) "The key to the development of production is how to lower the average necessary amount of labor in the society."(18)

There was a distinction here only between man and animal; there was no class distinction between man and man. All the slave-owners, landlords, capitalists--this bunch of vampires--became those who "live by their own labor." Sun Yeh-fang completely wiped out the class antagonisms and the history of the laboring people's blood and tears of several thousands years. With one single statement of "producing still more products with still less labor," Sun Yeh-fang obliterated the fundamental distinctions between the systems of "all economies" of the human society, and regarded the exploiting system on the one hand and the socialism and communism on the other as the same. Sun Yeh-fang was turning history upside down.

The "conquering of Nature by man" is carried out in accordance with certain production methods. In a class society, it is carried out under certain-class relationships it is pure nonsense to claim that "how well one lives" depends on "the efficiency of his labor." In a society where the exploiting classes are the rulers, their affluence depends on the extent of their ownership of slaves, land, and capital. The peasants and workers who do the real work lead extremely miserable lives.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The US does really possess science and technology. Only they are in the hands of capitalists and not the people. They are used in exploitation and oppression at home, and in aggression and

killing abroad." At present, this is true of the imperialist countries, and of the social imperialist countries as well. The "efficiency of labor" created by their science and technology can only mean aggravated exploitation of the people. Is it possible this life's burden shouldered by the people is relieved even a small bit as a result? No, only by overthrowing the reactionary rule and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat can the working people build new lives.

The secret of capitalist economy is by no means "producing still more products with still less labor." It is the extraction of as much labor as possible out of the workers. The capitalist society is the least capable of saving labor. What it can save is nothing but capital. The capitalists' "way of doing business" is to use a minimum of capital to gain a maximum of profits.

Labor is the thing most economized in socialist society. To save manpower, materials, and money while striving to produce more in order to satisfy the needs of society is an important socialist principle. However, since classes and class struggle still exist in the socialist society and because the question of which will win out--the proletariat or the bourgeoisie--will continue to exist for a long time, our understanding and handling of all economic problems must proceed from the basic facts of class struggle. The task of socialist political economics is to explain the production relationship under the situation of class struggle and to point out the objective laws governing productive forces, the economic base, and the superstructure. The principle of "grasping revolution and promoting production" set forth by Chairman Mao is aimed precisely at elucidating a great Marxist-Leninist truth which is governed by this kind of law.

Vice Chairman Lin has pointed out: "Grasp revolution and promote production" is an absolutely correct policy; it is a correct answer to the relationship between revolution and production, between spiritual and material things, between the superstructure and the economic base, and between the production relations and the productive forces." Only by grasping and applying this great truth can we find the fundamental way of promoting and rapidly developing the cause of building socialism. Giving up the class struggle and dreaming of "obtaining more products with less labor" is an attempt to benumb the people's revolutionary will and aid in the restoration of capitalism. If the bourgeoisie is not defeated by the proletariat, and even if it is possible to "obtain more products with less labor," only the bourgeoisie will benefit.

Sun Yeh-fang said that "the secrets of all economic problems" lie in his so-called formula of "less [labor] more [products]" and he even said, "The red line in the treatises of socialist political economics is to satisfy the needs of society by producing the maximum amount of products with the minimum consumption of social labor."(19) That was designed to cover up the class struggle in the socialist society and a vain attempt to use his black line to oppose the great red line of Mao Tsetung thought by altering the political economics of the proletariat.

Commenting on revisionism, Lenin once said: "Judging by its content, revisionism does not need to be developed and molded because it has been fully expounded in the old bourgeois books and has merely been reprinted in the socialist publications."

Sun Yeh-fang's "secret" tactic of obliterating the classes and class struggle is not a new invention, it is something he pieced up from the old bourgeois books. In his books, Leon Baptiste say, master of the philistine bourgeois economics, attempted to prove that "mankind" survives through labor. He said, "All entrepreneurs and owners of factories are engaged in productive labor in spite of the fact that they do not actually participate in manual labor." Furthermore, the capitalists' labor is "high class labor!" Now, read it for yourselves, Sun Yeh-fang said: "Man relies on his own labor to make a living." Does he say the same thing as say?! Let us go on to read the more interesting part. Say said: "To reduce the required labor in producing the same amount of products, or to produce more products with the same amount of human labor, are two different ways of serving the same purpose--this is the main target and limits in industry." Say also adopted the formula of "less--more."

In the final analysis, what Sun Yeh-fang called "the secrets of all economic problems" has the same meaning as what Say in his "general treatise of political economics" called "the main target and limits in industry."

After dishing out the theory of "putting profits in command," Sun Yeh-fang racked his brains to write a book advocating the "essential difference" between "profits" and capitalist profits. However, although he had his face covered, the mark on his arm [class nature] was exposed. The theoretical basis of his theory of "putting profits in command" was copied from Say and other apologists of the bourgeoisie.

When his mask was ripped away, his ugly features were laid bare. Sun Yeh-fang's "secret" weapon was used to obliterate the fundamental difference between socialism and capitalism and hide all kinds of capitalist ideologies behind this so-called "thing of common nature" so that these ideas can be regarded as "treasures" and be disseminated into the socialist society. For example, we all know that the theory of "putting profits in command" is a characteristic of capitalism, but Sun Yeh-fang insisted that profits constituted the "central link which is connected to everything" in the socialist economy. We all know that average profit is the regulator in the capitalist free competition system, but Sun Yeh-fang insisted that average profit is the basis of the development of the socialist national economy; we all know that production cost is the important factor in the capitalist system, but Sun Yeh-fang insisted that production cost is a "tool for measuring the degree of frugality" in socialist production. Sun Yeh-fang's "secret" tactic revealed his vain attempt to lead people onto the sinister road of capitalism. Is not his counter-revolutionary criminal goal too obvious to be overlooked?

Under the signboard of opposing the so-called "traditional dogmatism," Sun Yeh-fang wrote a treatise on "economics" with the purpose of teaching people to go after profits and to ignore revolution and to give up their power for the sake of making money. His "economics" was most welcome by those capitalist-roaders who favored a capitalist restoration, by those corrupt embezzlers and bourgeois elements who were trying to undermine the foundation of socialism. His "economics" is a downright economic theory for restoring capitalism.

One of the important tasks of the revolutionary mass criticism movement is to thoroughly criticize the revisionist economic theory based on the "theory of putting profits in command." It is an important task of struggle-criticism-transformation in the field of economy. The banners of bourgeois revisionism must be removed from all places. The banners of the proletariat must be planted everywhere.

Let us hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, advance along the course charted by Chairman Mao, carry the socialist revolution through to the end on the economic front, step up preparedness against war in the spirit of "seize the day, seize the hour," accelerate the tempo of socialist construction, welcome the stormy revolution which is rocking the five continents, and let us advance in victory.

* * *

Foot Notes:

1. "Summary of Speeches on the Question of Production Cost Delivered at a Forum to Discuss the Question of Socialist Reproduction"--August 1964.

2 and 18. "Place Planning and Statistics on the Basis of the Law of Cost" (November 1956)

3. Speeches at the forum on economic problems held on August 17, 1955.

4. Report to the Heilungkiang Society of Economics Meeting held in March 1964.

5 and 7. "A Talk Proceeding from 'The Gross Value of Production'" (1956)

6. An interview in August 1956.

8. An interview in August 1963.

9 and 11. "The Target of Profits in the System of Socialist Management over the Planned Economy" (Sept. 1963)

10. "Speech on the Question of Production Cost at a Forum to Discuss the Question of Socialist Reproduction" (Outline) (August 1964)

12 and 16. "On Cost" (Sept. 1956)

13. Speech at Changchun Motor Vehicle Plant on April 14, 1964.

14. Speech at the Group Discussion Session of the 4th Enlarged Meeting of the Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (November 1963)

15. Lectures at the Chinese People's University between 1962 and 1963.

17. "It Is Necessary to Learn Some Philosophy in Order to Understand Economics" (1958)

19. "The Theory of Socialist Economy" (June 1961)

Revolutionary War Is Excellent

- Criticizing the Reactionary Film "Visiting A Kinsman"

by

the revolutionary mass criticism group
of Peking Film Studio

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, January 30, 1970)

In order to overthrow imperialism and the reactionary rule of its lackeys, defend the dictatorship of the proletariat after seizing political power, defend the motherland, and defeat enemy aggression, the proletariat and the broad masses of revolutionary people must keep a firm grip on their weapons and use revolutionary war to smash counter-revolutionary war. Because it is so, proletarian revolutionary literature and art always eulogize revolutionary war and the revolutionary heroism of the revolutionary army and the broad masses under the leadership of the Party. On the other hand, the reactionary literature and art of the exploiting classes invariably try every means to slander, vilify, and distort revolutionary war, and to glorify counter-revolutionary forces and counter-revolutionary war for the purpose of continuing or restoring the reactionary rule of the exploiting classes.

The film "Visiting a Kinsman" was produced between 1956 and 1958 after the screenplay was revised twice with the support of the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i, under the personal supervision of the counter-revolutionary revisionists Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, and Chen Huang-mei, and with the participation of international revisionists and imperialist elements. The film gave vent to the inveterate hatred for revolutionary war of the imperialist forces and their running dogs overthrown by the Chinese people, and is a sinister device used to slander, vilify, and attack revolutionary war.

By criticizing this film, we will be able to understand more clearly that criticism of Chou Yang and the "other three men" as well as the sinister literary and art line represented by them and elimination of the poisonous influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the field of literature and art are important tasks on the ideological front as a whole.

Revolutionary War Is the Road That Must Be Traveled By the Proletariat and the Revolutionary People in Order To Win Complete Liberation

The filming of "Visiting a Kinsman" was undertaken twice. The first attempt was made in order to coordinate with the bourgeois rightists for the purpose of attacking the Party. Before filming was completed, the attempt was pounded to pieces by the torrent of struggle against the rightists. In the second attempt, the film was revised and produced after the

anti-rightist struggle. Both the first and second versions of the film "Visiting a Kinsman" made Tien Lao-keng, a so-called "poor peasant" who was nicknamed Father Buddha, the main character.

The first version of "Visiting a Kinsman" venomously attacked the leadership of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat under the pretext of a story in which Father Buddha pays a visit to his son who has joined the revolution for many years and who forgets his own father and refuses to accept him. In the second version of "Visiting a Kinsman," the story is about Father Buddha who, after the liberation, goes to Peking to visit his third son who has been in the army for many years.

What Father Buddha met was a stranger by the name of Tien Kang who passed himself off as somebody else. Through the so-called "disastrous" fate which the revolutionary war brought on Father Buddha, the makers of the film did their utmost to propagate the "suffering" brought by revolutionary war and to frenziedly oppose revolutionary war.

After all, what should be our attitude toward the revolutionary war? Our viewpoint is diametrically opposed to that of the modern revisionists.

Our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "Without armed struggle neither the proletariat, the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all and it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph."

From the truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought and their own experience of struggle, the proletariat and the masses of the revolutionary people are fully aware that in the situation that imperialism and its lackeys use counter-revolutionary armies and counter-revolutionary wars to slaughter the people, the people must take the road of revolutionary war in order to completely emancipate themselves.

The entire historical experience of the proletarian revolution has proved that "only with guns can the whole world be transformed." It is true that wherever there is revolution there is sacrifice. However, if we do not resist the aggression by imperialism and overthrow the rule of the reactionary classes, there will be greater sacrifice and the people will suffer longer. In revolutionary wars, some people gave up their lives in exchange for the emancipation of the broad masses. Therefore, with heroic mettle and revolutionary optimism, the proletariat has always regarded revolutionary wars as a great earth-shaking task and a superbly honorable undertaking. The gunpowder of revolutionary wars makes fireworks for celebrating the emancipation of the proletariat.

The betrayal of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought and the proletariat by all the old and new revisionists have always found expression in their opposition to violent revolution and to the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is only natural for those who advocate the revisionist line in literature and art, which serves the revisionist political line, to do their best to create counter-revolutionary public opinion on this vital issue.

Was it not true that when Khrushchev's modern revisionism first came out, those that fought in the van for him in the literary and art circles were precisely a large number of poisonous weeds, such as "The Fate of A Man," which wantonly vilified revolutionary wars? Was it not true that in China, in the motion picture circles, the theory of "breaking with orthodoxy" was made a part of the counter-revolutionary program of the sinister line in literature and art which cleared the way for Liu Shao-ch'i's attempt to restore capitalism?

The entire story of "Visiting a Kinsman" was deliberately set in a post-war environment to show the so-called "spiritual wound" brought to the people by the revolutionary war. The producer of the film spared no efforts in describing how the relatives thought of the third son and how Father Buddha wished his son to become prosperous, and in desperately depicting the family life of Tien Kang in order to exaggerate the loneliness of Father Buddha and smear the revolutionary war.

In accordance with the sinister outline drawn up by Chen Huang-mei, it is described in the film that Father Buddha and the Tien Kang couple "are not necessarily dear to each other" and "there is some distance between them" this was designed to illustrate the loneliness of Father Buddha. The producer tried to use the so-called "distance" among the people to show that the "spiritual wound" caused by the revolutionary war is irreparable.

What a despicable slander! That was an effort to turn history upside down! That was typical revisionism in service of the counter-revolutionary war and the counter-revolutionary ruling class. Had it not been for the people's war fought by the People's Army under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, the countless working people would be now groaning and dying under the enemy's brutal oppression. Is this not an iron-clad historical fact? Furthermore, without winning victory in the revolutionary war the hundreds of millions of working people can neither lead a happy life nor enjoy the right of making revolution and tilling their own lands. Is this not an iron-clad fact?

The film "Visiting a Kinsman" mentions neither the fact that of millions of people were liberated during the revolutionary war nor the fact that they are living happily after the war. On the contrary, the film depicts the so-called "suffering" of the people. This is the view shared by the imperialists and their lackeys, the reactionaries of the Kuomintang, which was smashed by the revolutionary war.

The counter-revolutionary outcry reaches its climax in the finale of the film "Visiting a Kinsman." In the last scene, the film depicts the father's sorrow over the death of his son. According to the "producer's interpretation," the finale is the most important scene of the whole film because all the leading roles, who have experienced the revolutionary war, are present in this scene. It is a scene of melancholy in which a war orphan named Hsiao Lan presents a wreath to Father Buddha who accepts it absent-mindedly. It was at this moment of an ugly "tragedy" that the theme song

"Red flags are rising in the city of Peking, red lanterns hanging over Tienanmen Square...." was struck up. Nevertheless, the director, fearing that the audiences may not get the hint, let Father Buddha stand before a painting which depicts the ceremonies marking the establishment of the CPR. Such a song and such a painting, plus the expression of deep sorrow, constitute a direct affront to our great Party, to the revolutionary war which laid down the foundation of new China, and to the theory that proletarian political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

If this may be endured, what may not?! The brilliant five-star red flags will go on flying over the motherland, and the red lanterns over Tienanmen Square have lit up the road of revolution for the people. But, the film "Visiting a Kinsman" vainly attempts to negate this fact by playing up Father Buddha's "misfortune." This can only expose the counter-revolutionary features of the producer who is the enemy of the hundreds of millions of people.

In order to give vent to their inveterate hatred of the revolutionary war, the producer and the script writer originally inserted a scene in which the will of the third son was quoted as saying "My father was almost driven mad by the landlords and he cannot stand oppression any longer." They implied that the son was willing to lay down his life during the revolutionary war just because his father was almost driven mad by the landlords. This is a tone of the renegades who turn against the proletariat. Although the sentence was later deleted in the process of filming, the whole film still carries this hint.

Moreover, this sentence is not a new invention by those who concocted the film "Visiting a Kinsman" but the same old tune of Liu Shao-ch'i. Liu Shao-ch'i once clamored in his notorious and sinister work "Self-Cultivation" that "war" is "an irrational matter." After the victory of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, he again openly proposed to abolish the People's Army led by the Party and to "incorporate" the 8th Route Army, the predecessor of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, into the so-called "Nationalist Army" of the Chiang gang, in a vain attempt to eliminate, in the main, the people's revolutionary war led by the Party and to inundate the revolutionary cause of the proletariat with the blood of a counter-revolutionary war.

In class society, if you do not support revolutionary war and agree to violent revolution, you definitely support aggressive war and agree to counter-revolutionary violence--one or the other. To oppose revolutionary violence by means of condemning all class violence means betrayal of the liberation cause of the proletariat, denial of the right of the proletariat to make revolution, and safeguarding of counter-revolutionary violence and the reactionary exploiting system.

There is a famous sentence in Lenin's work "The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky": "He who fails to draw a line of demarcation between reactionary violence and revolutionary violence will become a philistine betraying the revolution." This is indeed a profound criticism

of the film "Visiting a Kinsman" and those who concocted it. The third son praised by the film "Visiting Relatives" is nothing but a renegade of the proletarian revolutionary in the same category of Kautsky, Khrushchev, and Liu Shao-ch'i, and his will merely presents the philosophy of a philistine betraying the revolution. Furthermore, Tien Kang, who faithfully carried out the third son's will, is just as bad as a shameless renegade of the proletarian revolution.

The liberation cause of the proletariat is irresistible. The class enemies' magic charms and words can neither deceive nor frighten the revolutionary people. The film "Visiting a Kinsman" and its masters have been and will be continuously tried without mercy in the course of events. Guided by Chairman Mao's great truth "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," the revolutionary people the world over are fighting against the aggression and oppression by imperialism and social-imperialism and their lackeys to welcome the dawn of a new world.

To Die for the People Is Weightier Than Mount Tai

Although the film "Visiting a Kinsman" is an out-and-out big poison weed of revisionism, yet Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, Chen Huang-mei, and their ilk clamored loudly that the film is a fragrant flower "without political problems" and pointed out that the reason the flower smells nice is because it "praises the lofty revolutionary friendship."

Now let us throw overboard the fig-leaf of "praise of friendship" used by them and expose their rapacious designs.

The film shows that Tien Kang kept the truth about the death of the third son away from Father Buddha and acted as a son to comfort Father Buddha. This is the so-called "lofty revolutionary friendship" vigorously promoted by Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, and Chen Huang-mei.

Is this really a "revolutionary friendship"? No, this is a tool employed by those who concocted the film to uglify the revolutionary fighters and promote egoism.

The proletariat was born to bury the criminal system of exploitation. A true Communist Party member always regards the liberation of all mankind as his duty and will never forget the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Therefore, when he sacrifices himself for the cause, he usually advises his relatives and friends to turn their sorrow into strength, hold high the red banner of revolution, and continue to fight.

What, then, is the advice the third son left before his sacrifice? Before his sacrifice, his only advice was that "I am not worried about anything but my father. I wish that you will not tell him about me and that you will be faithful to him and respect him as I have done." In the eyes of the third son, there was no chance for the liberation cause of the Chinese and the world people. He completely betrayed the historical mission of his class. There is nothing of a proletarian fighter which he can find in him.

A man usually expresses himself truly at the time of life or death. The words left by the third son at the time of his death reflect that what was in the depths of his soul was an ugly bourgeois kingdom. Tien Kang, whom the third son saved one time, faithfully carried out his will. Obviously, that the third son asked his friend to be faithful to his father and that Tien Kang supported the third son's father for his friend were for their own sake. This was a dirty egoistic bourgeois deal. Although the third son and Tien Kang wore the cloak of a Communist Party member, they exposed their egoistic souls at the time of death. Theirs was a downright bourgeois world outlook.

One should be born and die for revolution. One should fight in defense of Chairman Mao all one's life and devote one's life to him. One should devote all one has to the great communist cause. This is the proletarian view of life and death. In order to "abolish the system of exploitation of man by man on the earth and liberate all mankind," the proletarian revolutionary fighters "fear neither hardship nor death," defy death, and are ready at all times to sacrifice themselves for the great cause of communism. If one dies for this cause, it is a just death, a death which may be weightier than Mount Tai. If one dies such a death, one will live forever spiritually. Chang Szu-te, Liu Hu-lan, Tung Tsun-jui, Huang Chi-kuang, Wang Chieh, Li Wen-chung and other comrades are heroes of such a kind. Tien Kang and the third son are but two mean, despicable clowns before such great proletarian heroes.

Use Revolutionary War To Eliminate the War of Aggression

"In a class society, revolution and revolutionary war are inevitable. Without them, society cannot achieve a rapid development, the rule of the reactionary class cannot be overthrown, and the people cannot be liberated." The enemies of the proletariat frantically oppose revolutionary war because they are attempting to maintain or restore the rule of their reactionary class. This can be seen very clearly from the deeds of Father Buddha in "Visiting a Kinsman."

Father Buddha is the main character in the film "Visiting a Kinsman." Those who dished up the film had profound feelings and boundless love for him and pinned great hopes on him. He is originally named Tien Lao-keng, but all the characters call him "Father Buddha" throughout the film. He even calls himself so. Those who dished up the film surely regarded him as the Buddha who would save their own class--the landlord class and the bourgeoisie.

In order to beautify this "Buddha," those who dished up this film used quite a few scenes to introduce his personal history and present situation. They described him as a poor peasant in an old base area, a model who had sent his son to serve in the army in the past, and an outstanding cattle tender of an agricultural production cooperative at present. He is described as an earnest worker who concerns himself with the sufferings of others, one who is beloved and respected by others, and so forth. "Sham is sham, and the mask must be stripped off." Only by taking a look

at his attitude toward the dictatorship of the proletariat can we surely tell whether he is a "poor peasant" or an enemy of the proletariat.

In the first version of the film "Visiting a Kinsman," the relative Father Buddha visits in Peking is his real son. His son is a veteran cadre and Party member, but he does not accept him as his father. In the film, his son is regarded as the image of the Party, which is viciously uglified, and Father Buddha angrily scorns his son in public. Those who dished up the film even attempted to have Father Buddha beat his son black and blue and then "indignantly leave the scene." They even clamored that, in such a case, he must be "relentless and fully express his indignation."

This is a performance which the bourgeois rightists put up before the anti-rightist movement in frantically attacking the Party for "having no virtues and feelings toward its relatives," alienating the people from the Party, and violently demanding that the Communist Party step down. At that time, the chieftains of US imperialism and revisionism and their big and small lackeys all attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat and called for "correcting" the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat. At home, Liu Shao-ch'i frenziedly instigated the bourgeois rightists to attack the Party, socialism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In such a situation in which sinister winds blew hard, Father Buddha, with a whip in his hand, angrily went to Peking to "visit his relative" and made a great disturbance there.

The exploiting classes have always described their own wishes and deeds as the demands of "all the people." After the nationwide liberation, the counter-revolutionary revisionists Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, Chen Huang-mei, and their ilk praised the sinister banner of "the literature and art of all the people" and did their utmost to create counter-revolutionary public opinion designed to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to suit the needs of their sinister master Liu Shao-ch'i in his attempts to restore capitalism.

In the first version of "Visiting a Kinsman," Father Buddha is made to wear a poor peasant's cloth and disguised as one of those who "petition for the people." "Visiting a Kinsman" was written and filmed at a time when the Hungarian counter-revolutionary rebellion took place and when the bourgeois rightists in our country were clamoring "kill the Communists." From the vicious curses Father Buddha utters against the Communist Party and from the whip he brandishes at the Party, people can see clearly his true features and the face and shadow of Imre Nagy and can smell the blood dropping from the knives of imperialism, revisionism, and reactionaries. That Father Buddha violently attacked the Communist Party was a filmed preview of "a Hungarian incident in China" which Liu Shao-ch'i had dreamed of creating.

It was the signal that the class enemies at home and abroad were plotting to instigate a counter-revolutionary war in China. That whip was the symbol of their counter-revolutionary violent force. No wonder that Chen Huang-mei boasted "it is of great significance." A film "authority"

of French imperialism called it "the best theme." A so-called "expert" director from a revisionist country gave careful instructions and suggestions about the film, calling for expressing the "sharpness" of the struggle. It can be seen that, in the first version of "Visiting a Kinsman," Father Buddha is an out-and-out reactionary who, under the cloak of a poor peasant, plots to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat with armed force.

Even after the first version of "Visiting a Kinsman" was smashed in the great anti-rightist struggle, the chieftains of the sinister literary and art line were very still unwilling to give up. They then made another try and dished up the second version of "Visiting a Kinsman," in which they changed "a real son who does not accept his father as such" into "a false son who is afraid to accept a father" and "having no virtues and feelings toward one's relatives" into "any relatives can be visited." Father Buddha changes his face in the second version, but he continues to frantically attack the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the second version of "Visiting a Kinsman," those who dished up the film also fabricated a poor peasant's background for Father Buddha as they had done before. In this way, he is again disguised as one of those who "petition for the people" and vents his bitter hatred for the revolutionary war through which the dictatorship of the proletariat has been founded.

Chen Huang-mei publicly clamored that Father Buddha felt a "deep melancholy" over the revolutionary war. He stressed time and again that "it is not realistic without melancholy." At the end of the film, when Father Buddha has learned that his son sacrificed himself in the war, his "face looks grim" and he stares ahead "without moving his eyes at all." With his two hostile eyes, he violently challenging the revolutionary war. Acting like a living Buddha, he cries out "for redress" for the "millions" of victims of the war and "condemns" the revolutionary war. He even uses counter-revolutionary jargon to instigate "the living" to "fight together" against the revolutionary war.

The attitude Father Buddha has adopted toward the revolutionary war, through which the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, shows that he is not a poor peasant at all. The poor and lower-middle peasants under the dictatorship of the proletariat have never taken a "melancholy" view of war. In the years of the revolutionary war, the broad masses of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line made tremendous contributions to the victory of the war with their unflagging support for it. When their first sons sacrificed themselves in combat, numerous heroic parents, full of great aspirations and confident in victory, not only sent their second sons to the battlefield, but plunged themselves into the fierce revolutionary war. How heroic they were!

After the reactionary rule of US imperialism and its lackey Chiang Kai-shek was smashed in the Chinese people's revolutionary war and after the nationwide victory had been won, Chairman Mao solemnly declared to the world

with a great voice: "The Chinese people who constitute one-fourth of the humanity have since stood up." Listen, this is the triumphal song of the victory of the proletarian revolutionary war! This is the everlasting happiness the revolutionary war has brought to the Chinese people!

Only those classes that have been buried in the revolutionary war, have lost their political power, and have lost their great wealth, take a "melancholy," pessimistic, and hostile view of the revolutionary war and lament over their own doom. Cursing the proletariat for using revolutionary war to seize political power, ruining his "happiness," and bringing disaster to him, Father Buddha represents the reactionary classes which the Chinese people, who have stood up, have overthrown with the national revolutionary war and the class revolutionary war. Although dressed in worker's clothing and disguised as a poor peasant from an old base area, he cannot cover up his features as a representative of the reactionary classes.

In order to maintain or restore their reactionary rule, all exploiting classes resort to the double-dealing tactics of false peace and counter-revolutionary violent force. But violent force is the major tactic on which they always rely. In using violent force, they sometimes rely on deceptions employed by priests.

The script of "Visiting a Kinsman" was revised twice, but Father Buddha has not put down the whip in his hand, a symbol of counter-revolutionary violent force. What kind of society is Father Buddha trying to achieve by ferociously opposing the revolutionary war? In the first version of "Visiting a Kinsman," he divulges his secrets in a light conversation. He says that, under the rule of "the landlords, Japanese or Chiang Kai-shek," "I never shed a tear." From this we can see that the old China under the barbarous dictatorship of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism is his wonderful, happy "paradise." Thus has Father Buddha divulged his political ideal, that is, to overthrow the new China under the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Communist Party and restore the old China of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism. Father Buddha was a worthy thug for the political line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i in a vain attempt to restore capitalism and turn China into a colony of imperialism and social imperialism.

Although Father Buddha changes his face in the second version of the film, he shows us by negative example that the form of the struggle between the two classes, two roads, and two lines changes with the changing situation, but the nature of the struggle does not. In attacking the leadership of the Party and the socialist system, clamoring for "correcting" the system, slandering the revolutionary war, and crying for abolishing the war, the bourgeoisie was attempting, in essence, to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore its reactionary political power.

If there is any difference between the Father Buddha in the first version of the film and that in the second, it is that he is stark naked in the first version but wears the "revolutionary cloak" in the second. Stripping off his mask of pacifism, the true Father Buddha standing before us is

an executioner wielding a leather whip and attempting to instigate a counter-revolutionary war. This reminds us that, with regard to those who seem to have sympathy for others but who viciously slander the revolutionary war, we must never forget that they have a leather whip in their hands with which they try to restore counter-revolutionary rule and beat up the Communists.

This is the face of US imperialism and social imperialism and the face of the handful of imposters and executioners, namely, the imperialists and the revisionists who preach peace but hold lethal counter-revolutionary weapons in their hands.

It is just those peace-preaching revisionist overlords who are repressing with police force the proletariat and the broad masses of the laboring people at home and putting them in jail, and who are using their troops and "turtleshells" to invade the territories of other countries. They have clamored for "humanism" while carrying out repression, and have loudly preached peace while committing aggression. In holding high the banner of "peace" and, at the same time, flying it over their war chariots for committing counter-revolutionary aggression, they are vainly attempting to conquer and enslave the people of the world with their counter-revolutionary guns.

Soviet revisionist social imperialism has recently created a din to serve its own needs in hoodwinking the people at home and carrying out aggression and expansion abroad. A handful of hack writers in the pay of the revisionists, who represent the bourgeoisie and the rich peasants, have frantically attacked in newspapers and magazines our revolutionary model plays such as "The Red Detachment of Women" for depicting the victory of the revolutionary war as "a jubilant festival." They have shouted themselves hoarse trying to revive the spirit of such big poisonous weeds as "The Beleaguered City" and "Battling Shanghai," designed to oppose the revolutionary war and beautify the counter-revolutionary war.

They have praised these big poisonous weeds for "realistically" expressing "the misfortunes of war." This handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists grieved and cried over the "misfortune" of US imperialism and its lackey, the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, which were overthrown by the Chinese people in the revolutionary war. Taking the side of imperialism and the Chiang bandit gang, they even cursed the Chinese people's elation over the victory of the people's liberation war.

Thus, the Chinese people in their hundreds of millions and the revolutionary people of the world can see still more clearly their features as renegades. This handful of social imperialists has been in such a hurry to start trouble that they neglected to even use some Marxist-Leninist terms for window-dressing. They have flagrantly attacked the revolutionary model plays for depicting the victory of the revolutionary war as "a jubilant festival." But it is Lenin who said: "Revolution is a grand festival for the oppressed and the exploited." Revolutionary war is the highest form of revolution. On the one hand, they are deceptively

clamoring for "revering Lenin," but on the other, they publicly and shamelessly stamp these noted words of Lenin's into the ground. Are they not slapping their own faces?

In concluding, I would like to tell an anecdote. US and British imperialist newspapers have recently praised "The Swan Lake" performed at "The Grand Theater" in Moscow last December as "sensational." Why? Because the performance was more "Westernized." Further, "The Devil" was promoted to play the role of a leading stage character and was allowed to "appear everywhere on the stage" so as to "dominate everything."

The devil plays a leading role--this is the latest "creation" of the Soviet revisionist "realism." This is really an ugly restoration of capitalism on the stage. Perhaps, the devil may not be able to express himself in real life, so he has to make a big show of his strength on the stage. But we are convinced that the devils, whether they are devils in real life or devils "appearing everywhere on the stage," will finally be overthrown by the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the Soviet Union.

"Away with all pests! Our force is irresistible." The flames of the people's revolutionary war will turn into the beautiful and colorful rising sun of the new era. The great red banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought will fly over the whole world!

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Short Commentaries Are Powerful

-- report on an investigation in Liuli brigade, Tungt'ai hsien, Kiangsu

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, January 30, 1970)

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note:

Great leader Chairman Mao points out that we must be good in "doing propaganda and educational work among the peasants patiently, vividly and in a way they find it easy to understand." Revolutionary mass short commentaries are a good method. These several short commentaries are very lively and very much to the point. They are recommended for reading by comrades doing propaganda work in the countryside.

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Obeying Chairman Mao's great teaching, "it is necessary to regularly conduct lively and concrete political education among the masses," the Liuli agricultural brigade under Ch'iangkang fishery commune in Tungt'ai hsien has been active in writing mass short commentaries, so the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought is gaining momentum and the revolutionary mass criticism is deepened step by step. This has effectively urged the broad masses to revolutionize their thinking.

The Origin and Development of Short Commentaries

While the movement of struggle-criticism-transformation developed in depth, a class enemy in the No. 2 production team of Liuli agricultural brigade invited a youth who came of a poor-peasant family to eat and drink in his home. He also gave this youth 20 catties of wheat in exchange of 19 catties and three liang of barley from him. When this happened, the production team cadre immediately helped this youth through education and made him draw a clear line of demarcation between friends and the enemy. But, this youth said that "eating and drinking was a trifle in daily life and was of minor importance and it would be all right as long as he could draw a clear line of demarcation politically." The poor and lower-middle peasants were very much annoyed at hearing this. They unanimously put forward their opinions when laboring in the field. Some of them said: "Eating and drinking is by no means a trifle. There is class struggle with the chopsticks." Some others said: "The class enemies have no good intention in inviting people to eat and drink with them." An educated youth who had come from the city wrote a short commentary, entitled, "Eating and Drinking Is No Mere Trifle," in accordance with the opinions of the poor and lower-middle peasants. This short commentary caused a great shock in the brigade. The poor and lower-middle peasants said: "This commentary is fine. It has taken the words out of our mouths." The youth in question also learned an impressive lesson and exposed the conspiracy of the class enemy to win him over and to erode him.

The brigade Party branch realized that this mass short commentary is a new matter emerging during the movement of struggle-criticism-transformation and should be given vigorous support. Obeying Chairman Mao's great teaching, "Respect the initiative of the masses," they summed up the experience of the No. 2 production team in conducting the activity of mass short commentary and popularized it throughout the brigade and improved and developed it continuously. Now activities of commentaries are carried out in different forms in the brigade. Commentary activities are held in fields, at the fishing grounds, in families and jointly among households. These activities are held generally in two ways: One is that the masses suggest a topic and make comments; the other is that the brigade Party branch take hold of a representative living idea, suggests a topic and organizes all to make comments. No matter which of these two methods are adopted, articles are written on the basis of mass criticism and special short commentaries are published irregularly. These articles are propagated repeatedly through local broadcasts, study meetings in the fields, and big and small informal meetings, so that each of the problems raised in the commentaries may produce definite educational results.

In the past few months, they have written more than 60 short commentaries and held nearly 200 criticism meetings in fields, at fishing grounds, in families and jointly among households. This kind of short commentaries have become a good form of studying and propagating Mao Tsetung thought and preparing revolutionary public opinion, and a powerful weapon for hitting at the enemies, criticizing the bourgeoisie and all sorts of erroneous ideas. The masses praise these short commentaries: "The short commentaries are like howitzers shattering the enemies; short commentaries are good indeed. They urge us to greatly raise our ideological consciousness."

Merits and Role of Short Commentaries

The mass activities of short commentaries in Liuli brigade have already displayed tremendous power and produced remarkable results.

Through these short commentaries, the broad masses heightened their abilities to apply Mao Tsetung thought in observing matters and analyzing problems and pushed forward the mass movement of the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought. Adopting the viewpoint of Mao Tsetung thought and taking into consideration the problems to be discussed and the actual conditions of their thinking, they discussed every problem and closely integrated this discussion with the study and application of Mao Tsetung thought. A large group of backbone commentators have emerged in the brigade ever since the activities of short commentaries started. Under their leadership, a new upsurge of the mass movement of the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought occurred in the whole brigade. A commentator who came of a poor-peasant family belonged to the cultural level equal to that of a lower primary school student. She met many difficulties in writing commentaries. But, she had a Red heart which was devoted to Chairman Mao, and wanted very much to speak for the poor and lower-middle peasants. She diligently studied Chairman Mao's works, and has now become an activist in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought in the commune.

The short commentaries helped effectively criticize erroneous ideas and tendencies of various kinds. For some time, incited by the class enemies, some people were seriously imbued with anarchical ideas, saying that it was inadvisable to touch the bottom of a tiger and that "nobody would dare to touch me since my background is Red and my thinking is correct" and "it is harmless as far as I do not commit serious mistakes and I only make minor mistakes." In view of this erroneous viewpoint, the poor and lower-middle peasants took Mao Tsetung thought as the weapon and made criticism. They wrote articles, entitled, "One Can Only Be Red by Being Conscious and Cannot Be Red by Birth" and "It Is Imperative to Criticize the Idea that 'Serious Mistakes Must Be Avoided and Minor Mistakes Are Tolerable,'" and incisively criticized the reactionary anarchical ideas. After enhancing their consciousness, some youths who had been influenced by anarchical reactionary ideas consciously fought self and criticized revisionism, strengthened revolutionary discipline and took an active part in the struggle for grasping revolution and promoting production.

Through making short commentaries, the masses cultivated the habits of carrying out criticism and self-criticism and raised the political level of the fight against self and criticism of revisionism to new heights. A certain woman commune member followed her husband's opinion and planted two rows of cabbage beside the plot of land belonging to the collective. After raising her consciousness, she realized that this meant "harming the public to benefit the private" and was incompatible with Mao Tsetung thought. She went on her own initiative to take away the cabbage she had planted. She had an argument with her husband over this matter. At a family criticism meeting, eight people of the whole family including the 60-year-old mother and the 6-year-old child criticized the husband's erroneous idea. Later, this matter was further discussed at a joint-household criticism meeting. An article, "These Two Rows of Cabbage Have Been Removed Well," was written. The criticism was sensible and to the point. This commune member was totally convinced. For some time, some people did not say anything at a meeting. The poor and lower-middle peasants criticized this phenomenon and wrote an article, "Do They Really Have Nothing to Say?" analyzing the reasons why they did not speak: 1) They were reluctant to say anything and feared disclosing and fighting self. 2) They did not say anything for fear of offending other people. 3) They dared not say anything, fearing that they would be caught if they should say something wrong. This deeply touched the people who said nothing at a meeting. Now every one is eager to air their views and dares to disclose and fight self at a meeting, in a study class or in a mass criticism.

The short commentaries made the political atmosphere in the countryside stronger and urged the people to revolutionize their thinking. Vice Chairman Lin pointed out: "Our politics is politics of the masses, democratic politics, and politics by all and not by a few people alone. All must be mobilized to speak." (Chieh-fang-chün Pao of June 27, 1966) In the past, this brigade suggested that every one should do ideological and political work. However, because concrete measures were lacking, the responsibility was sometimes pushed round and work was carried out superficially. This situation was changed after activities of short commentaries

were conducted. Inasmuch as some poor and lower-middle peasants often quarreled over minor problems in daily life and subsequently did not speak to each other for a long time, short commentaries were made by taking Chairman Mao's teaching, "Unite to win still greater victories," as the guide and talked about the danger brought by discord and the merit of consolidated unity. The commentators also called on the poor and lower-middle peasants at home and had chats with them, so as to make those who had not spoken to each other for a few years to unite on the basis of Mao Tsetung thought. The poor and lower-middle peasants said: "The short commentaries have thrown light into our minds and taken the words out of our mouths. They really are invisible political instructors."

Now in Liuli brigade, once the cadres and the masses discover any erroneous ideas and tendencies that run counter to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, they use the weapon of short commentary to wage a struggle, so that the good personalities and good deeds are commended and the bad elements and had deeds are criticized. This further consolidates the socialist front in the countryside and strengthens the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Grasping Major Problems Through Short Commentaries

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In inner-Party criticism, guard against subjectivism, arbitrariness and the vulgarization of criticism; statements should be based on facts and criticism should stress the political side." In holding activities of short commentaries, Liuli brigade constantly stresses the political side and grasps the major problems while making criticism.

1. Closely following the current situation of revolutionary struggle. After the "9th Congress," inspired by Chairman Mao's great call, "Unite to win still greater victories," the situation in Liuli brigade developed very quickly and very well. In the face of this excellent situation, some people had the idea that "revolution has come to its end and production has reached its peak," and their pace of continuing revolution slowed down. Grasping this living idea, the commentary group wrote an article entitled, "Winning A Great Victory Does Not Mean That Revolution Has Come to Its End," pointing out that: Although we have won a great victory, this is only a first step of a long march and is still very far behind the demand Chairman Mao has imposed on us. We should treat ourselves with the viewpoint of dividing one into two, remain humble and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness and maintain the style of hard struggle in our work, and closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan to win still greater victories. After this criticism, all unified their thinking. All production teams set up Mao Tsetung thought study classes to carry out the spirit of the "9th Congress." They carried out revolutionary mass criticism in depth and dragged out the class enemies who were hiding very deeply in the corner. Displaying the revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death," the cadres and the masses reclaimed wasteland and expanded farm acreage by over 400 mow and reaped a bumper harvest despite serious natural disaster. After class struggle had been initiated in the sphere of economy, some people thought that "the movement has nothing to do with me since I am not guilty of corruption and theft and have never speculated in market," while a few other people who were

accountants and storekeepers were somewhat nervous and feared that they would be involved. The commentary group promptly published an article, "Criticizing the Idea That 'I Am Not Concerned' and 'Everybody Is Innocent,'" pointing out: "Carrying out class struggle in the sphere of economy is a major problem in further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must drag out the handful of class enemies who undermine socialism. Meanwhile, we also must educate the cadres and the masses. Therefore, this is not something with which I am not concerned, but something to which I am closely related. However, it is not that everybody is innocent, and not that all responsible persons are involved. The spearhead of struggle should constantly be aimed at the handful of class enemies." This problem was widely discussed by the masses. The cadres and the commune members very quickly enhanced their thinking and carried out the movement in the correct direction and in an earth-shaking manner.

2. Grasping the new trend of class struggle. When autumn harvesting was busy, a class enemy instigated his two sons not to work, in a vain attempt to violate the policy of grasping revolution and promoting production. The brigade Party branch mobilized the masses to criticize and struggle against this bad element. But this bad element was unrepentent and spread rumor and sowed dissension among the masses, in order to divert the focus on him. Some one was hoodwinked and regarded himself as a "cannon." The commentary group published an article, "'Cannon' and 'Evil Fan,'" that very night and exposed the class enemy's conspiracy, telling all to sharpen their vigilance and not to fall into the trap. After this article was published through local broadcast, the commune members held discussion in fields and in fishing grounds. The one who had been hoodwinked enhanced his thinking. He expressed that he would no longer be the enemy's 'cannon' again in the future. He also struggled against the class enemy who fanned evil winds.

3. Grasping erroneous ideas that are representative. Some time ago, some militiamen had ideas of peace and lethargy. In view of this, the poor and lower-middle peasants pointed out that in no way should we relax our fighting spirit as the imperialism, revisionism and reaction are now collaborating every more intensively in a vain attempt to launch a war of aggression against China. The commentary group immediately wrote the articles, "In No Way Should We Be Asleep" and "Clean Every Gun Ideologically," and criticized the ideas of peace and lethargy, thereby making all understand that only when they had cleaned every gun ideologically would they firmly grasp every gun in their hands to defend the motherland and to annihilate any invading enemies at any time. After that, the militiamen were very serious and dutiful in standing guard and posting sentinel. They got together with the border-defense fighters to patrol the coast through day and night.

4. Grasping all advanced examples. Not long ago, a girl went to the marine products sales department of Ch'iangkang chen to buy some fish. When she returned home, her mother found that she had 2.5 liang fish too much. The mother said that this was public property, which she should not misappropriate. Accordingly, she walked 12 li to and back from the marine products sales department, paying the arrears of money. Grasping this

advanced deed, the commentary group wrote an article, "State Interests Must Be Put in the First Position," commending this commune member and calling upon all others to follow her example. The brigade Party branch grasped this incident and taught the masses to love the State and the collective and to relentlessly criticize renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of merging the public with the private." Now there are in this brigade countless good personalities and good deeds showing devotion to the public and there prevails the new practice of taking it a glory to be devoted to the proletariat and a shame to have the bourgeois selfish ideas.

Establishing A Team of Commentators

In Liuli brigade, a team of commentators with poor and lower-middle peasants as the mainstay was established gradually in the course of the mass activities of short commentaries. There are in the whole brigade 22 commentary groups and 64 commentators, who make commentaries verbally or in writing. The brigade has the central commentary group, each of the production teams and laboring squads has a commentary group, and the joint household study classes also have commentators. The overwhelming majority of the commentators are poor and lower-middle peasants, together with revolutionary cadres, demobilized armymen, primary school teachers, and educated youths from cities. They are devoted to Chairman Mao, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, bring the proletarian politics to the fore. They are Red sentinels in the countryside defending Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and honest and reliable speakers of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

The commentators take root deeply among the masses. They are propagandists of Mao Tsetung thought as well as good commune members taking an active part in the collective productive labor. For this reason, their short commentaries are to the point and have strong fighting force. The content of their commentaries comes from the masses and the language used also comes from the masses, so that the poor and lower-middle peasants love very much to hear these commentaries. The poor and lower-middle peasants say: "This is vegetable sown and growing up locally. It suits our taste. We find it more tasty upon chewing it." They tell the commentators what are in their minds and furnish them with material for writing commentaries. When they finish writing a commentary, the commentators first seek opinions on it from the poor and lower-middle peasants before publishing it. The poor and lower-middle peasants are the commentators' best teachers, and the commentators are the poor and lower-middle peasants' inseparable speaker.

The brigade Party branch also pays particular attention to building the ranks of commentators. The commentators are organized to study and apply Mao Tsetung thought conscientiously and in a living way and to continuously raise their consciousness in continuing the revolution. The commentators have deeply realized that the level of their commentaries will be high if their level of Mao Tsetung thought is high. They constantly adhere to this political standard when writing commentaries: Firmly support and vigorously propagate whatever is compatible with Mao Tsetung thought; firmly and unsparingly criticize and struggle against whatever is against Mao Tsetung

thought. They strive to make it the first thing to grasp the living ideas in their own minds as they grasp the living ideas, and they put themselves into the commentaries. Now the commentators of this brigade are advancing along the revolutionary course pointed out by Chairman Mao, continuously strengthening revolutionization of their thinking, and contributing their shares toward building a socialist new countryside.

Joint Investigation Group under Tungt'ai Hsien Revolutionary Committee and Ch'iangkang Fishery Commune Revolutionary Committee

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APPENDIX: FIVE SHORT COMMENTARIES

Eating and Drinking Is No Mere Trifle

by

Liu Yu-liang (刘玉良)

A youth of poor peasant's origin in our team was tempted by a class enemy to go out eating and drinking. The class enemy gave the youth 20 catties of winter wheat in exchange for 19 catties and three ounces of barley. People educated the youth that he must draw a dividing line with the class enemy, but he didn't care, saying: "Eating and drinking is a mere trifle in everyday life. It isn't a matter of importance. As long as I draw a dividing line politically, nothing can go wrong."

Is eating and drinking a mere trifle? No. Class struggle exists even at the tip of chopsticks. Under conditions of proletarian dictatorship the class will attack us not only with steel bullets but more frequently with sugar-coated bullets. They frequently make a breach in our mode of life first and take the faint-hearted captive in a bid to achieve their criminal aim of capitalist restoration. As the common saying goes, if you eat the things of others you will find it difficult to speak against them; if you take things from others, you will find it difficult to lift your hand against them. Eating and drinking with the class enemy.....this shows that you and the enemy are sitting on the same bench and in the course of time you and the enemy will toe the same line and you will speak and act for the enemy and will be pulled into the water by the enemy. Thus, associating with the enemy financially will lead to political collaboration with him. "As long as I draw a dividing line politically, everything will be all right"--this argument is deceptive, for in the end you will side with the enemy.

Those who claim eating and drinking as a mere trifle never ponder over this question: In the old society, the class enemy had too much fish and meat to eat and would rather throw them away than give us a mouthful. Some of our poor and lower-middle peasants were starved to death, and the class enemy never condescended to look at them. Now, they suddenly fraternize with us and invite us to go out eating and drinking. Is this not a case of the weasel paying a New Year call on the chicken?

In the old days, the class enemy was very sharp exploiting us and never stop working on the abacus. How many families have been ruined! Now, suddenly they are so "generous" as to make a deal at a loss. Is it not clear that the enemy has an evil design?

In the old days, we poor and lower-middle peasants had no power and the class enemy trampled us under foot. Today, with power in our hands, the enemy invites us to dinner. His object is to wrest power from our hands over food and wine.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Some communists may have never been conquerred by the gun-holding enemy and are worthy of the name of a hero in the presence of the enemy, but they cannot withstand the sugar-coated bullets and will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets." Inviting us to dinner is a sort of sugar-coated bullet; bourgeois flattery is another sort of sugar-coated bullet; there are other kinds of sugar-coated bullets that can corrode us. We should roundly repudiate renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of dying out of class struggle," expose the enemy's plot at all times and beat off his attack by sugar-coated bullets. We should regularly educate some politically muddle-headed people and wake them up. Further, we should constantly sound the tocsin for ourselves and guard against enemy's sugar-coated bullets.

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Clean the Gun in Our Mind

by

Wu Hsing-ts'ai (吴兴才)

Some of us do not fully grasp the significance of war preparedness. This lethargic state of mind is intolerable.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The imperialists are bullying us in such a way that we will have to deal with them seriously." American imperialism is still occupying our territory of Taiwan and social imperialism is ceaselessly carrying out armed provocations on our borders. Both American imperialism and social imperialism are the roots of war. As long as they exist, the danger of war exists. Under no circumstances may we fall asleep.

"Without preparedness superiority is not real superiority." If we make full preparations we will put ourselves in an invincible position. If we are prepared we will be able to wipe out all enemies, whether they come by land, by sea or by air. If we are prepared we shall have no trouble. We may not have the slightest hesitation in preparing against war.

Of all things, to be ideologically prepared against war is the most important. That is to say, the most important thing to do is to clean the gun, ideologically. If the gun in our hand is rusty, the rust can easily be removed; if the gun in our mind is rusty, it would be a serious matter. Some young people in our team were upset when they were not issued guns. This showed that they had not cleaned the guns in their minds. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Weapon is an important factor in war but not the decisive factor. The decisive factor is man, not things." Vice Chairman Lin says: "What is the best weapon? The best weapon is Mao Tsetung thought, not airplane, guns, tanks and atom bombs. What is the greatest fighting force. The greatest fighting force is man armed with Mao Tsetung thought, the courage and the spirit of fearing no death." In a certain sense the gun in our mind is more important than the gun in our hand. With the gun in our mind we shall be able to recognize the aggressive nature of American imperialism and social

imperialism and ideologically maintain a high degree of vigilance. Therefore, we must conscientiously study and apply Mao Tsetung thought in creative ways and clean the gun in our mind.

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The Interests of the State Must Be Put in the Leading Position

by

Chu Kuo-ying (朱國英)

The advanced deed of Ch'en Ying, an activist in the study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, who loved the collective and put the interests of the State in the leading position, is now on the lip of everybody in our Liuli Brigade. Last year the aquatic products center delivered 2.5 ounces of fish to her by mistake; she walked 12 li to pay 0.12 yuan for the fish. She declared: "One must not take more than one's share in state property. We should put the interests of the State in the leading position."

"Putting the interests of the State in the leading position"is the class nature of us poor and lower-middle peasants. Chairman Mao teaches us: "At all times and in all places the communists should refrain from putting their personal interests in the leading position but rather subordinate them to the interests of the nation and the masses." In this respect Comrade Ch'en Ying has set us an example. Two and a half ounces of fish is a trifle but it is a matter that can test whether one puts the interests of the State in the leading position. Comrade Ch'en Ying walked 12 li to pay 0.12 yuan. In doing so, she has taken a big step ahead of us on the road to ideological revolutionization. We should learn from her.

If one puts the interests of the State in the leading position one will not only refrain from appropriating state property but, more importantly, will voluntarily safeguard the interests of the State. A striking manifestation of this is that the poor and lower-middle peasants in our Brigade strive to sell good grain and cotton to the State under the resounding slogan of "rather exact yield from the earth than demand a higher price from the State." But there are those who are fond of taking advantage of the State and who are not so conscientious in working for the State. Their argument is that the State is too big to mind our taking a little advantage of it. This thinking is harmful in the extreme. To build the socialist edifice all our 700 million people will have to add bricks and tiles. To take advantage of the State is to undermine the socialist foundation and the socialist construction. Therefore, each of us should voluntarily safeguard the interests of the State.

The focal point of struggle between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook is whether to bring the proletarian "public concept" to the fore and put the interests of the State in the leading position or to bring the bourgeois "private concept" to the fore and put the

personal interests in the leading position. We poor and lower-middle peasants should study and apply Mao Tsetung thought in creative ways, voluntarily destroy the private concept and establish the public concept. We should roundly repudiate renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of merging public and private interests," maintain correct relationships between the State, the collective and the individual, and forever put the interests of the State in the leading position.

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"Gun Barrel" and "Secret Fan"

by

Chang Wen-lan (張文兰)

During the autumn harvest season this year we criticized and purged a bad man who undermined the policy of grasping revolution and promoting production. After the struggle the man pretended to be submissive but secretly fanned up trouble. He hoodwinked some younsters, saying: "Ostensibly they criticize and struggle against me but actually they want to drag you out. They are pointing their accusing fingers actually at the mulberry-tree while cursing the ash-tree." Thus hoodwinked, the youngsters went to oppose the cadres, regarding themselves as "guns."

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The class enemies will certainly find a chance to show themselves off. They will not reconcile themselves to national extinction and communism." In the interests of their survival and future development, the class enemies often give people a false impression and hide themselves in a dark corner to find their bearings and fan up trouble when opportunity presents itself. Some politically muddle-headed people in our ranks often fall into their trap. Instigated by the enemy they often lose temper and say what the enemies dare not say and do what the enemies dare not do. In doing so they grieve their friends and gladden the hearts of their foes. We must drag the class enemies from the dark corner and expose them in broad daylight. We must go about meticulous ideological and political work among the hoodwinked comrades, conduct reasonable and appropriate criticism to raise their class consciousness and make them identify the enemy, correct their mistakes and join us in dealing with the enemy.

The gun is a powerful weapon for wiping out the enemy. In the struggle against the enemy and in conducting criticism and self-criticism among the people, we should serve as revolutionary "guns," adhere to Mao Tsetung thought, and dare to fight and dare to say what is on our minds. But we may not be off our revolutionary guard and we must not let ourselves be utilized by the enemy. If one falls into the trap set by the enemy and becomes a mouthpiece of the enemy, one will do harm to the people and to himself. We advise comrades of this type to wake up soon and to aim their guns at the class enemy.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Before overthrowing a political power it is always necessary to create public opinion and go about the work in the

ideological sphere. This is the case with the revolutionary class as well as with the counter-revolutionary class." From what has happened in our brigade it is clear that the enemies are at all times fanning with their "secret fans," and creating counter-revolutionary public opinion. The enemies found an opening when we failed to create revolutionary public opinion. We should learn our lesson from this and constantly crush counter-revolutionary opinion with revolutionary opinion. Our "commentaries" should serve as cannons in this struggle, aiming at the heads of the enemies. We should open fire on the enemies, constantly raise our vigilance, expose enemy plots and crush their "secret fans."

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"No Great Offence against the Law and No Need to Correct Small Errors" Is a Mentality to be Criticized

by

Teng Hung-wang (邓宏旺)

In our brigade are some people who behave like an unbridled horse. These people make their presence here and there, quarrel with you and offend you. They would say to the old cadres who educate them: "You were liberated only a few days ago, and now you are educating me!" They would say to the new cadres who educate them: "If I did not elect you, how could you mount the stage?" To the masses who educate them, they would grin and shrug their shoulders, saying: "We are equals like desks and benches. Mind your own business and we mind ours." When they have said and done wrong things, they would touch on the matter lightly at a fight-self and repudiate-revisionism meeting, and then behave as usual. If you point to them the grave nature of the case, they would remind you "not to elevate everything to the plane of class struggle," saying: "Why a great fuss about my small errors and shortcomings?"

These people think their class composition is good and they have no "pigtails" for others to grab. They believe as long as one does not commit a great offence against law, it matters nothing whether one corrects his small errors or not.

As we know, one should not rest content with the fact that one's words and deeds are kept within the confines of law. One should strive for greater progress before one can contribute to the socialist revolution and socialist construction. If one emulates the backward and excuses oneself for one's errors and shortcomings, then small errors will in the course of time change into big errors and one will embark upon a dangerous road. Only when one emulates the advanced, takes the "three constantly read articles" as reminders and the heroic characters as examples and assumes a modest and careful attitude can one continue to advance.

Those who think it "not necessary to correct small errors" are people whose minds have been poisoned by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionism. These people have only "self-interests" in their minds. They are imbued with the

evil habits of the bourgeoisie, which find expression in anarchism. We should shout to these people: Comrades, you have taken the dangerous road. Don't persist in error. You should wake up right away!

Revolutionary comrades, we must follow Chairman Mao's teaching--"Fight self-interests and repudiate revisionism," hold aloft the banner of revolutionary mass criticism, combat selfish and impure ideas, overcome anarchism, sweep away all the evil influences of the bourgeoisie, and forge ahead with big strides along the road of revolutionization!

* * *

Five Revolutionary Historical Songs

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 2, January 30, 1970)

Graduation Song

Song: Composed by Nieh Erh

Lyrics: Rewritten collectively by a group

Fellow students, arise and hasten to the front of the war of resistance!
Listen, loud notes of war of resistance are coming from the bugle;
Look, red flags of battle are fluttering in the wind.
We follow the Communist Party, taking up guns!
We swear to defend the frontier of the fatherland,
We resolve to bury the aggressors deep under the ground.
Together with workers and peasants we will build the wall of iron,
Let the whole nation unite to greet the dawn of victory in national liberation.
Advance! Advance! The bugle is calling.
Fellow students! Fellow students! Go into quick action,
Hasten to the front of the war of resistance, to the front!

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The Workers and the Peasants Are of One Family

Song: Composed by Nieh Erh

Lyrics: Rewritten collectively by a group

Workers and peasants are brothers of one family,
We grow on the same roots and suffer the same hardship,
Workers and peasants grow on the same roots, the same roots.
We are denied the houses we build and the grain we grow,
The black-hearted landlords and compradores take them all.
Hate fills our chest, raging flame shoots ten leagues up,
Crush the old world before we can liberate ourselves,
Crush the old world before we can liberate ourselves.
With one heart, let's follow the Communist Party,
Take up swords and spears, kill all dogs and jackals.
Workers and peasants should straighten their backs and become masters.
Workers and peasants, close your ranks, with one heart smash the chains,
Straighten your backs and gain liberation.

(singing to slow down a little)

Smash the chain, gain liberation! Smash the chain, gain liberation!
Gain liberation! gain liberation!

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Anti-Japanese War Song

Song: Composed by Hsien Hsing-hai

Lyrics: Rewritten collectively by a group

Follow Chairman Mao, with one heart, all compatriots,
Forge ahead!
We are anti-Japanese contingents, we should close our ranks,
Hold high the red banner of revolution, be brave to kill the enemy.
Follow Chairman Mao, with one heart, hold high the red banner of revolution,
Triumphantly advance!
Follow Chairman Mao, with one heart, firmly hold our guns,
Wipe out the aggression army!
We are anti-Japanese contingents, we should close our ranks,
Hold high the red banner of revolution, be brave to kill the enemy.
Follow Chairman Mao, with one heart, hold aloft the red banner of revolution,
Triumphantly advance!

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The March of the Big Sword

Song: Composed by Mai Hsin

Lyrics: Revised by a group

Thrust big sword at the head of the devil!
All patriotic compatriots, the day of war of resistance has come,
The day of war of resistance has come.
Worker and peasant boys at the front,
All people in the rear,
Let us armymen and civilians unite and bravely adance!
Aim at the enemy, wipe him out!
Charge! Thrust the big sword at the head of the devil!
Charge!

*

RECEIVED

The Fighting March

Song: Composed by P'ei Chih

Lyrics: Revised by a group

I clean my "38" gun, I load the cartridge into its chamber;
I wear my cartridge belt, bravely go to the front.
I carry my handgrenades to wipe out the Chiang bandits;
I draw from its sheath my bayonet which is glittering!
Though their weapons are good, justics is on our side!
I strike one down, take one captive, strike one down,
take one captive,
And seize several American guns!
Hey! I seize several American guns!
Bear Chairman Mao's words forever in mind;
I will not forget the enmity of tears and blood,
anger filling my chest.
I charge ahead and fall on the Chiang bandit gang;
I charge forward and let them taste my bayonet!
I strike one down, take one captive, strike one down,
take one captive,
And seize several American guns!
Hey! I seize several American guns!

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Explanatory Note on Republishing the Five Revolutionary Historical Songs

The above five revolutionary historical songs were produced in the periods of the anti-Japanese war and the liberation war. Many among the revolutionary masses are quite familiar with these songs and their melodies. Today under the wise guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art, it is very important to restudy these songs with their revised lyrics. Proceeding from the class viewpoint, the lyrics of these songs give prominence to the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, to Chairman Mao's great thinking on the people's army and people's war, and to the revolutionary role of the worker-peasant masses. Thus, the distinctive revolutionary melodies of these songs now more accurately reflect actual historical conditions during the revolutionary struggle at that time.

The republication of these songs can help people to remember the glorious traditions of the Chinese revolution led by Chairman Mao and can serve the current consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this respect, comrades are asked to give us their suggestions. At the same time, it is hoped that the broad masses music workers will work hard to compose more revolutionary songs reflecting the great struggle in the various fields in today's socialist era and encouraging the fighting will of the people.

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